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THE *Southwestern*
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JAMES A. TINSLEY

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O. DOUGLAS WEEKS

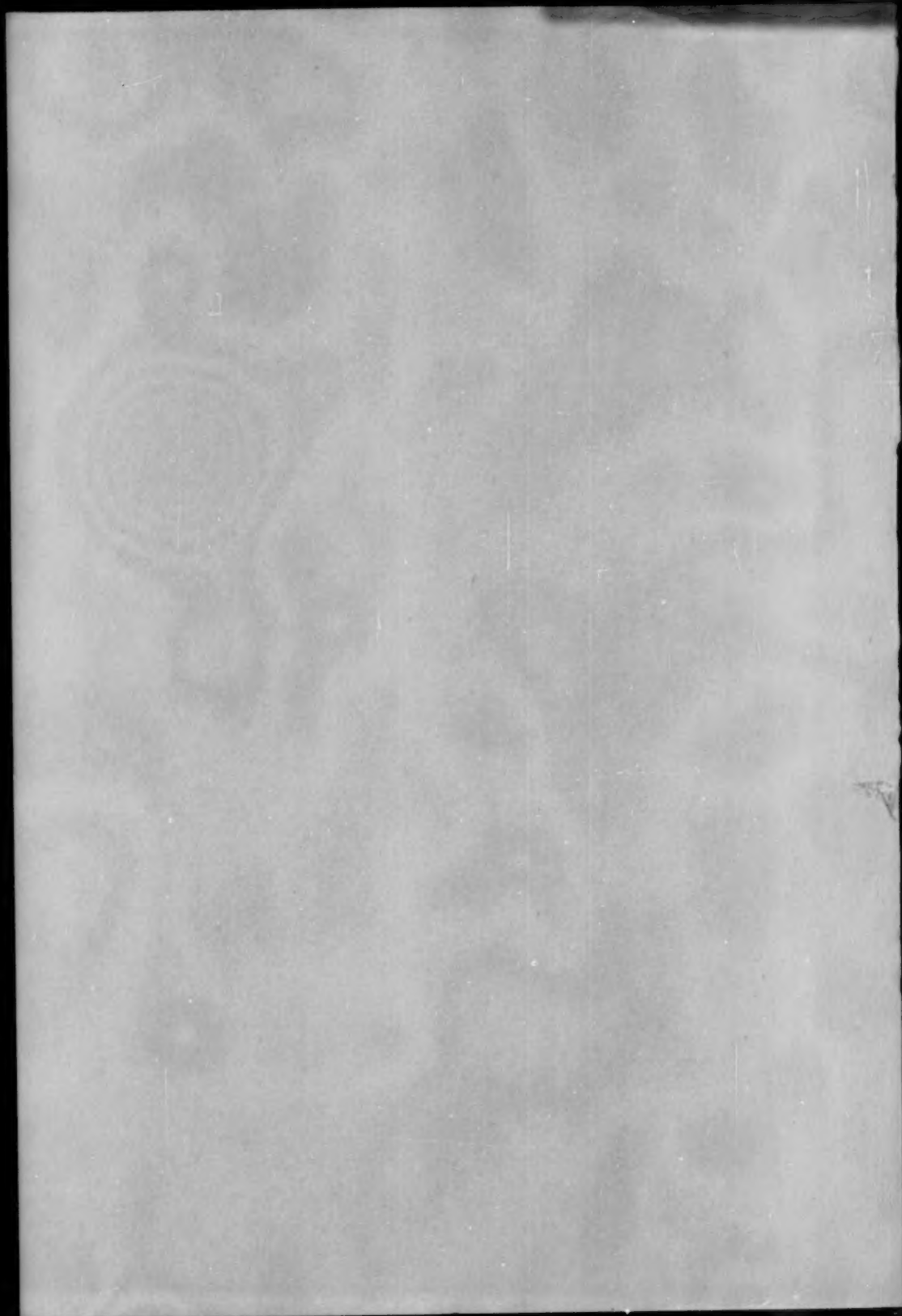
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Texas Progressives and Insurance Regulation

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THE DECLINE of Texas Populism and Jim Hogg Democracy in the late 1890's left Texas politics without a vigorous reform element. By 1905, however, a new wave of reform sentiment, called "progressivism," was rolling over the state. At the risk of oversimplification, this movement may be described as an agrarian-sponsored revolt against the evils of corporate business and the industrial society. Farmers were joined by the bulk of organized labor and by a large number of businessmen and professional men. Some politicians were attracted by the prospects of office, and others were drawn in through conviction and dedication to principle. The political action of the reformers took place for the most part within the framework of the Democratic party, though progressive Democrats in Texas claimed kinship with Republicans Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, Charles Evans Hughes of New York, and Hiram Johnson of California, as well as with fellow Democrats Joseph W. Folk of Missouri and Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey.

The progressives showed an eager willingness to tinker with many phases of American society. The broad field of insurance was one of the many forms of corporate and business activity over which they attempted to extend closer regulation. Patient probing into the internal workings of the insurance business by Charles Evans Hughes and the New York Legislature's Armstrong Committee had exposed graft, corruption, and malpractices on a scale that prompted remedial action in other states as well as in the Empire State.¹ In the wake of these sensational exposures, Texas progressives overhauled their state's insurance code to provide for compulsory local investment of life insurance reserves, increased taxes, and state supervision of fire insurance rates. These reforms were made during the administration of Thomas Mitchell Campbell, governor from 1907 to 1911.

James H. Robertson, a weather-beaten veteran of Texas politics, and

¹ The work of the Armstrong Committee was reported with much interest in Texas newspapers of the period. A good summary of this important work is found in Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1951), I, 140-69.

Thomas B. Love, a scrappy newcomer, were most responsible for enacting and administering the new insurance laws. For many years Robertson had been identified with the James Stephen Hogg wing of the Democratic party and for a brief time was Hogg's law partner after the Governor retired from office in 1895. Robertson was elected to the Texas House of Representatives from Travis County in 1906 when, as in the early 1890's, voter sentiment was again running strongly in favor of curbing corporate aggressiveness. As a member of the legislature he introduced the measure bearing his name that forced life insurance companies to invest 75 per cent of their Texas reserves in Texas securities.

Thomas Benton Love was responsible for the administration of the Robertson law and the extension of reforms into the field of fire insurance. A native of Springfield, Missouri, where he was a graduate of Drury College, Love was associated with the Joseph W. Folk faction of the Missouri Democracy until he moved to Dallas in 1900. He quickly became involved in Texas politics. First elected to serve in the Texas House of Representatives in 1900, he rose to the position of speaker in 1907. This office was second only to that of the governor in influencing legislation. Banking, insurance, and taxation were Love's fields of special legislative interest, and as much as any other one person he was responsible for the new laws concerning these subjects which were enacted during the progressive era. As Speaker of the House, he gave the Robertson bill his enthusiastic support. Then, upon adjournment of the legislature, he was appointed by Governor Campbell to fill the newly created position of commissioner of insurance and banking. Thus it fell to Love to put the new insurance code into operation and to iron out its rough spots. During the next legislative session he was the administration's spokesman in the battle over the enactment of the fire-insurance-rating bill.

Demands that the state expand its control over the life insurance companies operating in Texas had been voiced for a number of years. In 1897, long before Hughes paraded the sins of the insurance business before the public, Governor Charles A. Culberson had observed that out-of-state, or "foreign," life insurance companies were collecting from Texas policyholders huge sums of money that were invested in other areas. "The substance of the state is being drawn to the East," Culberson told his legislature. The three largest New York companies doing business in Texas—the New York Life, the Equitable, and the Mutual—alone had collected over \$13,000,000 in excess of claims from Texas over a ten-year period.² A decade later, Commissioner of Insurance and Banking Love told the

² *House Journal*, Twenty-fifth Legislature (1897), 22.

Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress that this siphoning process had trebled in the years since Culberson spoke. In 1906, Love said, the excess of premiums collected over losses paid was \$6,200,000 as against \$2,400,000 for 1895. The three New York companies named above had collected approximately \$52,000,000, while paying out only \$16,500,000 over a twenty-year period ending in 1907. For the same period, Love disclosed, they had invested less than \$11,000,000 in all forms of Texas securities, and only \$180,000 was invested in Texas real estate mortgages. The Commissioner conservatively estimated that the amount of excess paid out to all foreign life insurance companies since their entry into the state was more than \$60,000,000.³

Robertson set about to choke off this "drain upon the money" of Texas.⁴ "The purpose I had," he explained, "was to stop the long continued practice of taking from Texas money belonging to Texas people, and hoarding it in New York to be there used by the officials of the great insurance companies, as was developed under the investigation by the Armstrong Committee of the New York Legislature." Texas money should be kept in Texas "to the end that our unlimited natural resources might be in some measure developed by the use of our own money; that the rate of interest upon land mortgages in this state . . . should be reduced, and that the injury resulting to our people from the collection of all money in the country in New York might in some measure be prevented."⁵ The Robertson Insurance Law required all life insurance companies to invest 75 per cent of their Texas reserves in Texas securities. With some exceptions, to be exercised at the discretion of the commissioner of insurance and banking, these securities had to be deposited in Texas, subject to state and local taxation. Reserves on Texas policies already amounted to \$40,000,000, Robertson calculated, and were increasing at the rate of \$4,000,000 a year. As life insurance companies claimed to have already \$16,000,000 in Texas investments, this would mean the forced investment of \$20,000,000 within two years, to be increased each year by an additional \$3,000,000. "Can it be doubted that the invest-

³ Thomas B. Love, *The Robertson Insurance Law . . . An Address before the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress at Denver, Colorado, August 18, 1909*, pp. 5-6, a printed copy of which is in the Thomas B. Love MSS. (The Thomas B. Love MSS. are housed with the Dallas Historical Society.) This document is cited hereafter as *The Robertson Insurance Law . . . An Address*. Discontent was not localized in Texas. For an expression of California sentiments, see Frank M. Raiff, "Keeping Our Money in This Section," *Los Angeles Examiner*, December 28, 1908 (clipping in Love MSS.). Raiff estimated that 90 per cent of California's \$12,000,000 paid for life insurance in 1907 went to the East.

⁴ Robertson added that "every enterprise in this State pays tribute to New York." *House Journal*, Thirtieth Legislature, First Called Session (1907), 92.

⁵ Robertson (Austin) to William A. Day (New York), November 7, 1910, attached to letter from Robertson to Love, November 7, 1910 (Love MSS.).

ment of this sum of money in this state would result in great material benefit to our people?" Robertson asked. "It would reduce the rate of interest from 8 to 5 or 6 per cent per annum," would build railroads, promote commercial interests, pay labor, and yet do "no injury to the companies as the rate of interest would still be above that now realized by them."⁶

While the Robertson measure was being considered by the legislature, a number of the foreign companies threatened to leave the state if the bill became law. A smoke screen of arguments and dire predictions was thrown up against the proposed regulations. Robert Lyman Cox, attorney and secretary of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, was the spokesman for the group. He first centered opposition on the deposit feature, claiming that deposit of securities in Texas would result in the companies' having to pay unduly heavy state and local taxes. Maurice E. Locke, Dallas attorney for the Metropolitan Insurance Company of New York, questioned the validity of the act on the ground that it was retroactive, an impairment of contractual obligations, and a denial of equal protection of the laws. Further objections raised were that the title of the act was defective and that the waiver-of-deposits clause was an undue delegation of legislative authority to the commissioner of insurance and banking.⁷

Nevertheless, the Robertson bill became law. Twenty-one of the forty-six foreign companies in Texas then withdrew from the state, releasing a barrage of statements to the public and their customers that cited the deposit feature as the chief reason for their action.⁸ No mention was made of the waiver-of-deposit clause or the fact that the law had been relaxed by Commissioner Love in several cases when it was shown that such action would cause unnecessary expense and trouble to the complaining firm. In 1909 the deposit requirement was repealed. Yet none of the withdrawn companies showed any change of sentiment, and the Association of Life Insurance Presidents called upon them "to unite in demanding the repeal of the com-

⁶ *House Journal*, Thirtieth Legislature, First Called Session (1907), 92-94.

⁷ *Dallas Morning News*, February 20, 1908.

⁸ For example, a circular letter found among the Love MSS. begins: "John F. Dryden, president of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, Newark, New Jersey, to the Policyholders of the . . . Company in the State of Texas" (n.d.). A spirited correspondence, most of which was published in the newspapers, occurred between Love and Hamilton Cook, inspector of agencies for the New York Life Insurance Company. Love (Austin) to Cook (St. Louis), November 9, 1908; Cook to Love, November 16, 1908; Cook to Love, November 23, 1908; and Love to Cook, November 25, 1908 (in Love MSS.). "The sooner the good citizens of Texas inquire if he is just very ignorant or really takes a fiendish delight in 'working' the people with the falsity of the truth, the better it will be for the great Lone Star State," was one insurance company official's opinion of Love's role in the reform legislation.—Horace Hardy (Waco) to Sam E. Stratton (Waco), December 22, 1908 (Love MSS.).

pulsory investment feature." Thus the real motive for the companies' leaving the state became clear.⁹

Compulsory investment "proposed interference with the natural laws of supply and demand," argued the president of one of the departed companies. "Trustees from whom the highest order of fidelity is expected must be left free to exercise their judgment within the limits of their knowledge and experience. Investment in a given locality" should be "a matter of education and not of compulsion."¹⁰ Love and Robertson replied that New York state, the domicile of most of the companies that quit Texas, had had more rigid investment codes on her statute books since 1849 than Texas was now proposing. "The Robertson law does not contravene the natural law of life insurance investments," Love retorted, "but rather compels its observance. It simply provides for a square deal by requiring an equitable distribution of the investment benefits to be derived from the transaction of its life insurance business."¹¹

The threats and action of the foreign companies had little effect upon the backers of the Robertson law. Robertson felt that "other safe companies will take their place and our home companies will prosper, others will be organized, our money kept here . . . our industries enlarged and sustained, and our people blessed with that prosperity which nature has prepared our citizenship to enjoy."¹² Governor Campbell heartily seconded Robertson's sentiments, adding that he could see "no good reason for regret if they [the foreign companies] should all leave the State. If they are not willing to accept the conditions under which we admit them into Texas, then their departure should be invited."¹³

A small but vigorous lobby of Texas-chartered insurance companies was an effective force behind the Robertson Insurance Law. Two months before the legislature convened, B. P. Bailey, of the Fort Worth Life Insurance Company, had urged legislative support for the home companies.¹⁴ When

⁹ Quoted in Love, *The Robertson Insurance Law . . . An Address*, 9. The deposit feature was essentially a revenue-producing device, and Robertson had originally intended that all deposits be made in Travis County, thereby adding considerable taxable property to his home county's tax rolls. John M. Duncan, another former law partner of Hogg, was willing to let the "dog which finds the bone do the gnawing," but the majority, looking for increased revenue for their own counties, demanded that the deposits be made in the county of the company's choice. *Dallas Morning News*, February 27, 1907.

¹⁰ Quoted in Love, *The Robertson Insurance Law . . . An Address*, 10-11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

¹² *House Journal*, Thirtieth Legislature, First Called Session (1907), 92.

¹³ Campbell (Austin) to Robert R. Cowart (Dallas), August 5, 1907 (Governor's letters, State Archives).

¹⁴ Report of an address delivered by Bailey at the Kansas City meeting of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress held in 1906. *Dallas Morning News*, November 26, 1906.

the Thirtieth Legislature got under way in January, 1907, the *Dallas Morning News* observed that the fight over the insurance bills was "being closely drawn between the Texas home companies assisted by the Missouri companies on the one side and the New York companies on the other."¹⁵ The *News*, which considered the Robertson law an "unnecessary and pernicious measure," charged Campbell, Robertson, and Love with "making no bones" about their efforts "to force Texans to patronize local insurance companies."¹⁶ Later on, Campbell's observations to J. Y. Hogsett, of the Fort Worth Life Insurance Company, partly verified the *News's* accusation. "It seems to me," the Governor wrote several months after the Robertson act became law, "that our large dailies could do good work in encouraging our people to patronize Texas life and fire insurance companies. We have been building big things for the East and North for a long time, and it is passing strange that great efforts have not been made to build big things for Texas."¹⁷ An Austin insurance company executive expressed his commendation thus: "I am a Republican, but always willing to recognize faithful service even in a Democrat, and cannot refrain from saying that whenever Thos. B. Love and T. M. Campbell see a chance to help the people and the young Texas Insurance Companies, they sail right in and nothing can stop them."¹⁸

The home companies fought just as hard against a bill introduced into the Thirtieth Legislature by Representative Clay S. Briggs, of Galveston, as they had fought for the Robertson measure. Briggs claimed to have no "personal interest" in insurance legislation other than that of "protecting the policy holder." He proposed that capital requirements for doing business in Texas be raised to a minimum of \$30,000 for stock insurance companies and that \$1,000,000 be aggregated by at least five hundred participants for mutuals.¹⁹ Briggs also sought to require that insurance investments in real estate be based upon the property's tax valuation rather than market price and that

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1907. The *News* reported that B. P. Bailey, of the Fort Worth Life; D. D. Crockett, of the Southwestern Life; John D. Mayfield, of the Texas Life; Captain P. N. Harris, of the American National Life; and John H. Thompson, Jake Wolters, and A. J. Beall of the Guarantee Life were leading the fight of the home companies against Robert Lyman Cox, secretary of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents; T. T. McMullen, secretary of the Life Underwriters Association of Rochester, New York; H. R. Mitchell, Texas manager of Travelers Insurance Company; and Hamilton Cook, Southwestern superintendent of New York Life.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1907, and December 3, 1907.

¹⁷ Campbell (Austin) to J. Y. Hogsett (Fort Worth), September 6, 1907 (Governor's letters, State Archives).

¹⁸ J. G. Hornberger (Austin) to Love (?), April 19, 1909 (Love MSS.).

¹⁹ Clay S. Briggs (Galveston) to Love (Austin), November 11, 1908 (Love MSS.). See also Briggs's statement in *Dallas Morning News*, March 4, 1907.

investments in stocks be limited to municipal bonds. The representatives of Texas companies, however, saw in Briggs's bill a dodge to raise restrictions so high that new small concerns could not exist. One embattled home-company official accused Briggs of trying to write into law recommendations made by Northern and Eastern insurance men that would wipe out the young concerns springing up in the South and West.²⁰ Another, listing real estate and national bank stock as the "best and most available securities in Texas," charged that the effect of the Briggs bill was to "cut the companies of this state off from leaning upon either and force them to Wall Street to invest their money."²¹ In any case the Briggs bill was postponed on a legislative "suspension day" and was thus eliminated from further discussion.

On the whole, the effects of the compulsory-investment law were encouraging to its proponents. Campbell thought no law passed by the Thirtieth Legislature was better. Love proudly noted that within a year after the law went into effect insurance loans on farm mortgages were over \$1,125,000, "or \$256,675.94 more than the twenty-one companies which left the state had loaned during the thirty years they had done business in this State."²² By 1910, Robertson felt his actions "fully vindicated." In the past three years, he claimed, life insurance firms had "invested about three times as much money in land mortgages and securities held by citizens of the State . . . as they had invested in the preceding sixty years." Then he added significantly, "Many strong home companies have been organized which will further tend to keep Texas money in Texas."²³

Not all out-of-state insurance companies considered the Robertson act unfair. Twenty-five of the forty-six foreign firms complied with the law and remained in Texas. The Dallas representative of the Hartford Life Insurance Company wrote Love that Texas "now has one of the best insurance codes of any state in this Union,"²⁴ and one of the insurance trade-journals had this to say about the law: "On the whole, it is no more severe than are the laws of some other states, or countries, in which the companies are now operating." New York, Canada, France, and Germany were cited as having "rigid requirements as to investments and deposits equivalent to the reserve of the companies."²⁵

²⁰ Statement of B. P. Bailey in *Dallas Morning News*, March 10, 1907.

²¹ Statement of J. Y. Hogsett, *ibid.*, February 17, 1907.

²² Campbell (Austin) to Robert E. Cowart (Dallas), August 5, 1907 (Governor's letters, State Archives); Love (Austin) to *Dallas Morning News*, September 23, 1908 (Love MSS.).

²³ Robertson (Austin) to William A. Day (New York), November 7, 1910 (copy in Love MSS.).

²⁴ William H. Patterson (Dallas) to Love (Austin), March 20, 1909 (Love MSS.). Patterson was manager of the Texas Department of the Hartford Life Insurance Company.

²⁵ *Mutual Underwriter*, XXVII (August 15, 1907), 5-6 (clipping in Governor's letters, State Archives).

The Robertson law applied to only one phase of the rapidly growing insurance business. New tax laws favoring companies with local investments appeared in 1905. Life insurance companies now bore a 2.25 per cent gross premiums receipt tax, but the law carried a proviso requiring companies investing one-quarter or one-half of their total assets in Texas securities to pay only 0.50 per cent and 0.25 per cent respectively. The gross receipts tax was increased to 3 per cent under the terms of the Robertson law. Relief, however, came in proportion to local investment. Companies complying with the investment provisions of the law paid only 2 per cent, firms with one-quarter of their entire assets invested in Texas securities were assessed only 1 per cent, while those with one-half of their assets invested in Texas securities paid only 0.50 per cent tax on the gross premiums collected. A stiff fine of \$5,000 and double the amount of tax for each delinquent year was prescribed for companies evading the law.

In 1909, domestic life-insurance companies were exempted from the gross premiums tax and were taxed instead on their real estate and personal property less reserve. Foreign companies still bore a 3-per-cent premiums tax—reduced to 2.6 per cent if 30 per cent of total Texas reserves was invested in Texas real estate, 2.3 per cent if 60 per cent was invested, and 2 per cent if as much as 75 per cent was so invested. Occupation taxes of \$50 and \$5 on general and local agents respectively were repealed in 1907.

Other types of insurance companies were forced to accept higher premium taxes also. In 1905, the tax on surety and guaranty companies was doubled to 2 per cent, and the tax on fire insurance and other lines was raised to 1.75 per cent. As was the case in the taxation of life insurance, the relief given was proportionate to the amount of investment in Texas real estate and securities. Two years later the tax was set at a flat rate of 2 per cent, increased again in 1911 to 2.6 per cent. On the latter date, reductions to 1 per cent and 0.50 per cent were allowed if one-quarter or one-half of the company's entire assets was invested in Texas. Though technically not a tax, the expenses of the Fire Insurance Rating Board, established in 1909, were also paid by the fire insurance companies.²⁶

The control of fire insurance required some special attention. Before 1909, little thought had been given to this rapidly expanding field except to bring it under the jurisdiction of the antitrust laws of the 1890's. As explained by J. T. Trezevant, a Dallas fire insurance man, the business consequently had drifted "steadily into a state of chaos—a condition in which the rich man peddled out his insurance to local agents, who wrote at less

²⁶ A convenient summary of tax legislation is found in Edmund Thornton Miller, "A Financial History of Texas," *Bulletin of the University of Texas* (Austin, University of Texas, 1916), No. 37, 307-10.

than cost, while the poor man with small properties and no inducements to offer had to pay tariff rates."²⁷ J. G. Hornberger, president of the infant Southern National Insurance Company of Austin, defined the problem of rate discrimination in terms of the large companies' "trying to freeze out the smaller ones." Hornberger added that "the Texas companies are the especial objects of [the large foreign companies'] efforts at benevolent assimilation."²⁸ Uncontrolled competition was obviously an evil when applied to fire insurance. "Competition among companies does not best subserve the interests of the people," R. S. Yokum, of the Fire and Marine Underwriters of Houston, wrote Love. "It results in most unjust discrimination in favor of the wealthy having large interests to insure, and who can secure absurdly low rates, as against the medium and poorer classes offering small lines, who are compelled to pay excessive rates to offset the wholly inadequate rates given to large insurers."²⁹

As in the struggle over the Robertson law, Texas companies strongly favored more effective regulation of the fire insurance industry. Local fire insurance agents were still another group backing reform. These men, Love said, "had been for years compelled to write business for the large insurers at rebate rates and to make up for the deficit by sticking it to their neighbors and best friends who applied to them for a small policy and did not ask what the premium was. They were more responsible for this legislation than any one else."³⁰

The legislation to which Love referred consisted of two measures enacted by the Thirty-first Legislature in 1909 and 1910. The first law, passed during the regular session, created a Fire Insurance Rating Board, composed of the commissioner of insurance and banking and two other persons appointed by the governor. All companies writing fire insurance were required to submit to the board the rates they were charging on all classifications of property. The board, in turn, had the authority to issue orders for such increases or reductions in rates as circumstances determined. Rebates, drawbacks, and other discriminations or variances from the stated rates were not permitted.³¹

Once the law was in operation, its spirit was roughly handled. Love explained what had happened. Some companies filed rates with the board that in many instances represented "enormous increases." Public protest against

²⁷ J. T. Trezevant (Dallas) to Oscar B. Colquitt (Austin), March 22, Colquitt MSS. (The Oscar B. Colquitt MSS. are housed in the University of Texas Archives.)

²⁸ J. G. Hornberger (Austin) to "Our Agents and Friends . . .," October 15, 1907 (circular letter in Love MSS.).

²⁹ R. S. Yokum (Houston) to Love (Austin), December 16, 1909 (Love MSS.).

³⁰ Love (Dallas) to W. A. Tarver (Corsicana), June 9, 1910 (Love MSS.).

³¹ *General Laws of Texas*, Thirty-first Legislature (1909), 311-16.

the new rates was general over the state, but the board delayed taking any steps toward their reduction. Meanwhile, "the people became more and more outraged and impatient." When the new rates went into effect in El Paso, a delegation of citizens went to Austin and petitioned the board to suspend the rates, pending a review of the issue. Two members of the board agreed to the suspension, but they were checkmated by Commissioner of Insurance and Banking William E. Hawkins, who had just succeeded Love in that post. Hawkins refused to recognize the suspension order and gave out a statement to the effect that he would revoke any company's certificate of authority to do business that did observe it. When the Governor called for the Commissioner's resignation, he refused to step down, "whereupon the Governor called a Special Session of the Legislature for the purpose of repealing the law and enacting one in its place." As Hawkins held only a recess appointment, convening the legislature would mean the end of his term unless he was reappointed. Of this there was no danger, confided Love.³³

Under the new law, the initiative in rate-making was taken from the companies and placed in the hands of the State Insurance Board, a new designation for the Fire Insurance Rating Board. The board was instructed to work out a basic schedule of rates and to draw up rules for determining maximum rates on specific items. The new law also provided that charges of less than the maximum would have to be approved by the board before they could be applied.³³

The benefits of the fire insurance regulatory act were several. Home companies were guaranteed a certain amount of protection in the matter of competition with larger out-of-state firms, and the maximum rate set by the state board was designed to give all policy-holders an equally fair break. Love ventured the opinion that nine out of ten premium-payers would secure a reduction in rates.³⁴ Others thought the provision allowing lower rates in cities with good fire-prevention facilities would reduce the state's fire loss by \$2,500,000 a year. For a quarter of a century, insurance men had, without success, urged property owners and municipalities to adopt and observe fire-prevention habits, one insurance man commented. "But when the state demands that a schedule of rates shall be passed, which charges the same rate for every risk identical in character, and that the cities shall be classified according to the amount of fire prevention afforded, you can see at once that

³³ Love (Dallas) to Lee J. Wolfe (San Francisco), June 17, 1910 (Love MSS.).

³³ *General Laws of Texas*, Thirty-first Legislature, Fourth Called Session (1910), 125-38.

³⁴ Love (Dallas) to W. A. Tarver (Corsicana), June 9, 1910 (Love MSS.).

they are getting busy."³⁵ Three years later, Love told a newspaperman that if "justice and equity are to prevail in fire insurance rating," the only alternatives are "the Texas system of state regulation of . . . rates and the strict prohibition of all discrimination and rebates [or] the writing of all fire insurance . . . by the state itself."³⁶

Texas progressives did not profess to cure for all time the ills of the insurance business. Some of the reforms failed the test of administration under governors less sympathetic than Campbell, and the initial failure to regulate stock issues more closely left a loophole in the insurance code that is largely responsible for the current troubles of the profession. Furthermore, the gross premiums receipts tax was recognized even in 1907 to be a poor basis for taxing the real wealth of these concentrations of money. Yet the investment of reserves in the areas from which premiums are collected, the regulation of rates by a state authority, and the impetus such legislation gave in Texas to the growth of domestic companies remain lasting achievements of the progressive movement in Texas.

³⁵ J. T. Trezevant (Dallas) to Oscar B. Colquitt (Austin), March 22, 1910 (Colquitt MSS.).

³⁶ Love (Oklahoma City) to editor, *Post Dispatch*, St. Louis, August 1, 1913 (copy of day letter in Love MSS.).

Republicanism and Conservatism in the South

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CAN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY become the conservative party of the South?¹ Any answer to this question would appear to be an exercise in divination or prophecy for the near future as well as for the time further ahead, because, even in spite of the repeated splits in the Democratic party in this section during the last ten or fifteen years, the Republican victories in the Presidential election of 1952, and the slight Republican gains in the Congressional elections of 1954, the Republican party has not as yet assumed this role. Nor do present signs indicate that it will soon come to play such a part. Until a real start is made toward its doing so, the immediate future can be only a matter of conjecture and the years beyond a matter of pious hope. Many obstacles stand in the way of any such fulfillment, the discussion of which and the possibilities of the removal of which must of necessity be largely our present concern.

The basic considerations are: (1) Can Republicanism break the one-party habit in the South, not only in occasional Presidential elections, but in Congressional, state, and local elections? and, (2) Can Republicanism come to be consistently conservative, and—what is more problematical—can it come to represent the kind of conservatism for which Southern conservatives stand? If and when these conditions are met, Republicanism and conservatism in the South will be synonymous terms. Permanently breaking the Solid South politically would not alone ensure this result, but it would meet one important initial requirement. What would have to accompany it would be a realignment of the areas, groups, and interests now supporting the Republican and Democratic parties nationally so as to transform the one into a consistently conservative party and the other into an equally consistent liberal or progressive party. Perhaps the breaking of the one-party habit in the great section under consideration would be the most important and essential

¹ For the purposes of this paper, this designation includes the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

step toward producing such a realignment, but alone it would not bring about such an eventuality.

Breaking a one-party habit is not an easy task. One-party systems are not peculiar to Southern states; they persist in a considerable number of states outside the South² where there is less reason for their perpetuation. As for the South, in the words of Ewing, "There are social changes of great moment occurring in the section, but they are insignificant in comparison with those emanating from the Emancipation Proclamation and the defeat of the South on the field of battle."³ However much traditions born of the Civil War and Reconstruction may be receding into the past, the one-party habit merely as a habit is deeply rooted. The South in fact does not understand a two-party system, nor do Southern Democrats or Southern Republicans understand it. Southerners are used to fighting out their political differences in Democratic primaries and conventions. In half the Southern states a more or less permanent factionalism provides a substitute for a two-party system. In the others, fluid and ephemeral divisions fill the gap in given elections and political situations. Only recently has slight aid to conservative Democrats come from a small minority Republican party. Political grooves are the hardest of all to get out of, even in the face of logic and changed conditions. Anyway, why go over to an alien national party whose conservatism is doubtful and whose local organization is practically nil, if there is a perfectly good going conservative Democratic faction that may be firmly entrenched in power or that stands a good chance of gaining power?

It is obvious that if the Republican party is to attain the status of a major party in the South, it must first win permanent rank-and-file recruits who will have to come from the Democratic party. Who are these Democrats? In recent years at least, they have been generally of three classes. First, there are the traditional Democrats, strongest in the older rural areas, who usually follow the party blindly, whatever its national ideology. They represent the "hitched vote." Many are reactionary; most are conservative. They may join Dixiecrat bolts, but the name "Republican" is anathema to them. Many held their noses and voted for Smith, Roosevelt, Truman, and Stevenson in recent Presidential elections. Here is the hard core of conservatism which the Republican party would have to win over if it wished to become a Southern conservative party, and yet it would be harder for Republicans to convert these voters than for Democrats to entice hard-shelled Vermont Republicans

² O. Douglas Weeks, "Politics in the Legislatures," *National Municipal Review*, XLI (February, 1952), 80-86.

³ Cortez A. M. Ewing, *Primary Elections in the South, A Study in Uniparty Politics* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), 105-106. This work is cited hereafter as *Primary Elections in the South*.

into their ranks. Moreover, they are firmly entrenched in courthouse rings, and Southern legislatures and Congressional districts are rigged in their favor. For instance, it was this crowd more than the New-Fair Dealish Negro voters of East Texas who helped to keep that section of the state in line for Stevenson in 1952. Frequently allied with these conservative old-line Democrats are the new plutocratic elements so prominent in the areas of rapid economic development. The Texas Regular combination of 1944 is an example of this type of coalition. And, let it be emphasized, these *nouveaux riches* are more reactionary than any followers the Republicans can produce either in the East or the Middle West.

At the left is a second group, the "liberal-loyalists," who are strong among the labor elements of the new industrial and metropolitan areas as well as among the newly enfranchised Negroes in the black belts of the South. Their loyalty to the national Democratic party is equally abject, but for totally different reasons. They provide the nucleus for a realigned liberal Democratic party that party reformers would like to realize in the South as the rival of a prospective conservative Republican party, but they are not as yet numerous enough in a sufficient number of areas of the South to attain the proportions of a major party, and with a declining Negro population they have an additional handicap. It is they who have continuously battled in recent years with the conservative Democrats for possession of the machinery of the Democratic party in state elections, while in Presidential elections they have been strangely allied at times with the ultraconservative element noted above.

Urban and industrial growth and large migrations of outsiders into the developing areas of the South have, however, created a third class, a great new white-collar, middle-of-the-road middle class, whose political position tends to shift backward and forward between the conservative and liberal poles. In Texas in 1944 and in 1948, they were allied with the liberal-loyalists; in 1952, they coalesced with the Shivercrat-Republican combination. Among this class are to be found the largest percentage of independent voters and most of the potential Republicans. Perhaps also they embrace the largest group of occasional voters who swell the ranks in Presidential years but who drop out in the less interesting intermediate elections. They are not, however, consistently conservative, and they are more strategically important if they are free to shift between electoral tickets in Presidential elections and between the two factional extremes in the primaries of the Democratic party. Many of them are "Presidential Republicans," but most of them for practical reasons are either registered Democrats or participants in Democratic primaries, and they will continue to be until the Republican party

can effectively corral them for all elective purposes. Except for a few instances in district and local elections, the Republicans have not been able to keep them roped in. Moreover, until the Republican party develops grass-roots organizations and nominates complete slates, these voters cannot be held in line. Even should the Republican organizations become full-bodied and assume full party responsibilities, the habit of independent voting of these people would preclude their permanent allegiance. Nationally speaking, the New Deal-created lower middle class in particular is definitely on the fence at present, with the result that recent Presidential and Congressional elections have been on a nip-and-tuck, hair-trigger basis between the two major parties.⁴

To say that in the South these potential Republican elements might become permanently allied with the considerable groups of traditional Republicans to be found in certain areas of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and in limited localities in Arkansas, Texas, and some other states would be to anticipate the impossible, because old-line Republicans are largely hide-bound and rural and have little in common with city dwellers. Moreover, they have too long had the habit of bargaining with conservative Democrats.

Would-be Republican organizers in the South, moreover, are confronted with many other difficulties. There are the legal handicaps. Many of the areas from which they might expect to elect national and state legislators are underrepresented or gerrymandered against them. In addition, various obstacles exist in some states to the holding of Republican primaries, such as the requirement in Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas that parties finance their primaries.

What is more important, to have organization the Republican party must find leaders who earnestly desire to build the party from the ground up. There is the work of wresting existing Republican organizations, both state-wide and local, from oligarchical leaders and long-entrenched federal patronage crews who are not interested in winning followers. Only a beginning of this was made in 1952 and it must be continued. This can be done only by a new and aggressive leadership that can transform and remake these organizations and extend them into many localities where no Republican machinery exists. They must also overcome a deep-seated minority complex which has bedeviled some of the new leaders who took over in 1952. Where are able and determined leaders to be recruited? From Democratic politicians? From all signs so far, this is not to be expected. There are practically no instances of such conversions. Seemingly they must come, then, from the

⁴ Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1951), *passim*.

ranks of newly recruited rank-and-file followers. But where are they and who are they? Really bona fide, grass-roots Republicans so far are few in number. Even if there were more, the difficulties confronting new and untried leaders would seem to be insuperable.

In any event, little, if any, progress in the development of Republican organization and leadership has taken place since 1952, even in Florida, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, states which in that year went Republican in the Presidential election.⁵ This has been ascribed to indifference on the part of both the national and the state Republican organizations. Too many national and state Republican leaders have assumed that the Southern victories in 1952 were due only to Eisenhower's personal popularity. This is no doubt largely true—as Governor Shivers said, the votes were for a man, not for a party. Too many of them also think of the Republican party in the South as a permanent minority organization which in future Presidential elections and Democratic primaries will serve its purpose by making temporary alliances with conservative Democrats.

Whatever may be true of the Republicans in Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia, the above statement applies to the Texas Republican organization. Since 1952, the new Republican leadership of Texas has been uninspired and has done little to stimulate party activity. Even its traditional patronage activities have been curtailed not only by the extension of the merit system, but by the awarding of important appointments to conservative Democrats. The organization tried to avoid holding a primary in 1954 and nominated an incomplete state-wide ticket of unknowns who ran largely uncontested in the Republican primary.⁶ Attendance at the primary was pitifully small—only 9,602. Primaries were held in only 150 of the 254 counties. It was reported that in 52 counties the primary was called off in order to allow Republicans to support Governor Shivers in his close race in the Democratic primary. No doubt Republicans helped to nominate Shivers in the Democratic run-off.

In the Congressional elections of 1954 the Republicans gained in the South only two seats—that of the Tampa-St. Petersburg district and the Dallas seat in Texas. One of the Republican seats won in Virginia in 1952 was lost to the Democrats in 1954. This was thin pickings in the three most rapidly growing states of the South, where a two-party system was expected to develop first. In general, it seems now that the Republican party will remain for some time to come a very minor party that will throw some weight

⁵ Hodding Carter, "The Republicans Muffed the Ball in Dixie," *Saturday Evening Post*, CCVII (August 21, 1954), 26.

⁶ William Reynolds Sanford, "History of the Republican Party in the State of Texas" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Texas, 1954), Chaps. 8, 9.

in Democratic primaries when conservative candidates need its help and that will co-operate with conservative Democratic factions in Presidential elections when the national Democratic nominee is unsatisfactory to them.

Democratic bolts in Presidential elections, however, seem less likely in the immediate future. The New-Fair Deal era has passed. Roosevelt and Truman are out of the picture. Hence, there is less for Southern conservatives to object to in the Democratic party. A Republican holds the Presidency and may win it again. In the close situation between the two parties in Congress, the Southern Democratic bloc is more powerful than ever. Leadership in both houses in 1955 passed into the hands of Texas Democrats, and the seniority rule gives the South a strangle hold on important committee chairmanships.⁷ If Stevenson is renominated by the Democrats, he may veer more toward the center, as he tended to do in 1952 before the Truman yoke was fastened upon him. Certainly, in spite of the outbreaks of National Chairmen Mitchell and Butler, considerable wooing has taken place from Democratic national headquarters. Practically none has come from Republican headquarters. The distribution of patronage to Southern conservative Democrats has won no converts to the leadership of the Republican party.

Even if President Eisenhower is able and sees fit to run for a second term, the chances are that he will be less popular in the South in 1956 than he was in 1952. Respect for him as a war leader has remained strong, but many in the South have regarded him as a poor politician. Certainly he has not been the type of tough political leader the South likes. Moreover, many in the South thought in 1952 that Eisenhower and the Republicans would slow up federal intervention in the race issue. They have, however, given the Negro more in shorter time than he had received earlier under Democratic rule. There can be no doubt where Republicans stand on the segregation issue. Also, various policies of the administration with respect to agriculture, tariff and trade, and TVA have not won support for the Republicans in the South. In fact, the Republican party is still an alien entity in the South; it has learned little about the South and has done little to win permanent support there.⁸

It may be possible that with the passing of segregation and other controversial issues which have disturbed the South for twenty years, the Democratic monopoly will get a new lease on life. Indeed, there are still strong factors that hold the Democratic party together in the South. One is the Negro. The Southern Negro has apparently been permanently converted to

⁷ William S. White, "The Southern Democrat Now Takes Over," *New York Times Magazine*, January 9, 1955, p. 9.

⁸ Carter, *loc. cit.*

the Democratic party. He represents a minority in most parts of the South and, in general, a diminishing minority. May he not be more effectively kept in his place from the standpoint of Southern conservatives if they remain within one big party, because of the danger of his coming to fuller power in a Southern liberal party that might be in office a part of the time under a two-party system? Thus for conservatives to join the Republican party would increase rather than decrease the political potentialities of the Negro. Not unless the Republicans can win back some of their former Negro vote in the South will the Negro's power be neutralized by being divided between the two parties.

Finally, is the kind of conservatism the national Republican party seems to stand for the same kind as that represented by Southern conservative Democrats? On the race question the answer is negative. The acceptance of much of the New-Fair Deal philosophy and accomplishment by the Eastern Dewey wing of the Republican party, toward which President Eisenhower has seemed to lean, does not attract Southern conservatives to that party. On the other hand, the isolationism and McCarthyism, as well as other viewpoints of many of the more conservative Republicans of the Middle West, are equally unattractive to them. In short, neither Dewey Republicanism nor Taft Republicanism fits in with Southern conservatism. Moreover, Southern conservatives are not consistently conservative. Among them are many fence-riders on New-Fair Dealism. However, they do not accept some parts of that philosophy that have been embraced by Dewey Republicans.

In the last analysis, Southern conservatism is to a considerable extent a special brand, which in many respects does not coincide with the brand usually associated with the Republican party. Furthermore, both national parties have to do too much wooing of liberal independents in pivotal areas outside the South—particularly in the present period of close Presidential and Congressional elections—to satisfy Southern conservatives. The Republicans have to win labor and Negro votes wherever they can find them if they are ever again to win decisive victories. In this the Southern conservatives desire no part.

Moreover, why should Southern conservatives rely on either national party so long as they have a reasonable chance to control the state and local machinery of the Democratic party in the South and so long as they can hamper or thwart Democratic majorities in Congress by means of the seniority rule and the use of bloc and filibuster techniques? Southern representatives in Congress tend to remain neutral in the intrastate Democratic splits in the South in order to retain their privileges with the Democratic organiza-

tions of the Senate and House. They are, however, for the most part conservative, even though they may exert some degree of healthy restraint upon conservatives back home in keeping the latter from going too far to the right. As Congressional blocs they are far more potential than they would be if they were to go Republican. Moreover, Southern conservatives have a greater nuisance value in national Democratic conventions than they would have in Republican conventions. Their pivotal value as independent Democrats in Presidential elections is also greater than if they were to be converted to Republicanism.

Furthermore, the question may be raised as to whether or not we want a neat conservative *vs.* liberal alignment of parties, either nationally or in the South. A conservative wing in both parties is one of the best checks of our political system and is far more effective than all the formal Constitutional checks and balances in keeping us from both the right and left ditches, regardless of which party is in power. In our system of government and politics, what do party labels mean anyway when it comes to the behavior of congressmen and legislators? Whether they call themselves Republicans or Democrats, Conservatives or Liberals, they think first and foremost of their local constituents. This good old American custom will survive any realignment of parties and flout any attempt to create more responsible party government.⁹

We must be aware, however, that we cannot go too far with generalizations as to the South. Each Southern state is different with respect to population increase, number of Negroes, degree of industrialization and kind of one-party system. What might not be possible in one state could happen in another. Much that has been said applies largely to the immediate future. What the distant future holds in store is impossible to discern. For the foreseeable time ahead, however, it does not seem likely that a two-party system will be realized even in the more advanced Southern states or that the Republican party will come to be the representative of Southern conservatism. The road is long and rough and has many turnings before such a goal can be reached.¹⁰ This is not to say that a two-party system, in which one party

⁹ For a brief discussion of this general topic, see James MacGregor Burns, "Republicans, Democrats: Who's Who?" *New York Times Magazine*, January 2, 1955, p. 5.

¹⁰ For further discussions of this topic, see D. W. Brogan, *Politics in America* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1954), 73-79; V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949); Alexander Heard, *A Two-Party South?* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1952); Ewing, *Primary Elections in the South; Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952*, ed. by Paul T. David, Malcolm Moos, and Ralph H. Goldman (5 vols., Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1954), Vol. III (*The South*); O. Douglas Weeks, *Texas Presidential Politics in 1952* (Austin, Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, 1953), 108-12; L. Vaughan Howard, *Presidential Politics in Louisiana*,

would be more or less conservative and the other more or less liberal, would not improve the politics of the South. Definitely most thinking people of the South believe so, and the present writer shares their belief.

1952 (New Orleans, Tulane Studies in Political Science, 1954), Vol. I, Chap. 12; William Goodman, *Inherited Domain, Political Parties in Tennessee* (Knoxville, University of Tennessee, 1954), 86-87.

Trends in Personnel Practices 1930-1953

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THE RESEARCH from which this paper is drawn covers a period from 1930 to 1952. Specifically the data were gathered in 1930, 1940, 1947, and 1952. In each instance the objective was to gather information as a basis of revising our *Personnel Management*, first published in 1923 by McGraw-Hill Book Company. The fifth edition came off the press in January, 1954. Our questionnaire has changed only to the extent necessary to include relatively new items. It had a total of 215 questions and covered five 8½ by 11 pages. Of 780 questionnaires mailed out, 628 were returned in time to be included in our computations. Our questions covered six different areas, as follows:

1. *Employment and Induction*.—Questions in this section covered methods used in selection of employees and methods of recruiting from the available labor force.

2. *Health, Safety, and Maintenance*.—This section investigated facilities available to employees, certain medical and financial amenities, and methods of communication.

3. *Payment to Direct Labor*.—This section reviewed most of the current methods of remuneration and also included certain questions dealing with policies in the field of wage-and-salary administration.

4. *Security and Employee Relations*.—The coverage here was rather extensive and ranged over several distinct groups of practices, including benefit plans, incentive plans, and methods of employee representation.

5. *Training and Development*.—The questions in this section dealt with practices regarding employee and executive training and education, with special emphasis on methods used. Also included were questions regarding "extracurricular" activities in which employees participated, and a series of

NOTE.—This paper is essentially an address delivered by the author before the Southern Economic Association at Biloxi, Mississippi, November 18, 1954. A more extensive report of the study upon which the paper is based is contained in W. R. Spriegel and Alfred G. Dale, *Personnel Practices in Industry* (Austin, Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas, 1954), Personnel Study No. 8.

questions to determine the prevailing policies with respect to explicit organization-planning.

6. *Research Control.*—This section was devoted to surveying techniques which are important in examining the efficiency of the personnel function as a whole and in assessing the internal well-being of the organization.

Limitations of the Survey

It is obvious that respondents would frequently have to choose between a positive and a negative answer if, for example, a particular practice applied to only one (and perhaps a minor) group of employees, or if it was in operation in one of several divisions of the company. Most questionnaires were

TABLE 1

Firms Classified by Geographical Location

Area	Firm	Area	Firm
New England	49	East South Central	30
Middle Atlantic	132	West South Central	49
East North Central	234	Mountain	19
West North Central	34	Pacific	51
South Atlantic	30		
Total, all firms			628

returned with qualifications attached to some answers. In the interest of consistency, the policy was adopted of confirming as "yes" answers all those which were marked "Yes" with qualification. If a particular practice was used at all in a company, even if it did not represent a general practice, it was included with the unqualified answers. In several cases, respondents indicated that the questionnaire answers applied only to a certain division or section of the company. For example, certain decentralized concerns submitted returns based upon practices prevailing only at the home plant or head office and indicated that these did not necessarily apply to other units of the organization. Where this was specifically indicated, firms were categorized in the size groups in which the indicated number of affected employees fitted.

No attempt was made to get a representative sample of all companies. The listing of respondents represents a selection of firms known to have or believed to have well-developed personnel policies. Within the limits dictated by this selectivity, an attempt was made to preserve a reasonable balance in the pattern of company locations, sizes, and types. The value of the survey lies in the fact that it is based upon a selection of leading companies and that it reflects contemporary personnel thought at an advanced level.

Other Facts about the Survey

The geographic location of the 628 firms responding to the questionnaire is shown in Table 1.

The distribution of the companies by size is shown in Table 2. It will be observed that the largest single group in size employed between 1,000-1,499, the second most frequently appearing group between 5,000-7,499, and the third most frequently occurring group between 3,000-3,999. There were 102 companies with 5,000 or more employees, and at least half of the reporting companies had 2,000 or more employees. Only about 10 per cent of the companies could be classed as small. Manufacturing companies pre-

TABLE 2

Distribution of the Firms by Size

Employees	Firms	Employees	Firms
Fewer than 250	21	5,000-7,499	59
250-499	45	7,500-9,999	22
500-749	44	10,000-14,999	37
750-999	33	15,000-19,999	15
1,000-1,499	75	20,000-29,999	21
1,500-1,999	46	30,000-39,999	17
2,000-2,499	29	40,000-49,999	2
2,500-2,999	33	50,000-74,999	9
3,000-3,999	55	Over 75,000	9
4,000-4,999	21	Not given	35
Total, all firms			628

dominated; however, there were 138 nonmanufacturing companies in this group.

References and Induction.—Almost all firms use application blanks and interviews as preliminaries to the recruitment process. It is interesting that 4 (out of 8) of the canning companies indicated that they hire without interview—a situation presumably resulting from the heavy seasonal fluctuation in their labor force and applying to temporary workers. Only 49.2 per cent of firms reporting indicated that they require written references. However, 65.1 per cent of all respondents reported having reference forms of their own. There is undoubtedly an increasing tendency to place less emphasis on the reference as a source of reliable information concerning an applicant, because of the difficulty of estimating the competence of the respondent in evaluating the qualities of the applicant. There has been a marked reduction in the proportion of firms requiring written references since the 1930 survey. The decreasing emphasis upon this subjective method of individual

evaluation is almost certainly related to the increased use in recent years of objective evaluative methods.

The survey indicates that in 57 per cent of the responding firms the personnel department has full authority to hire rank and file. In the remaining

TABLE 3

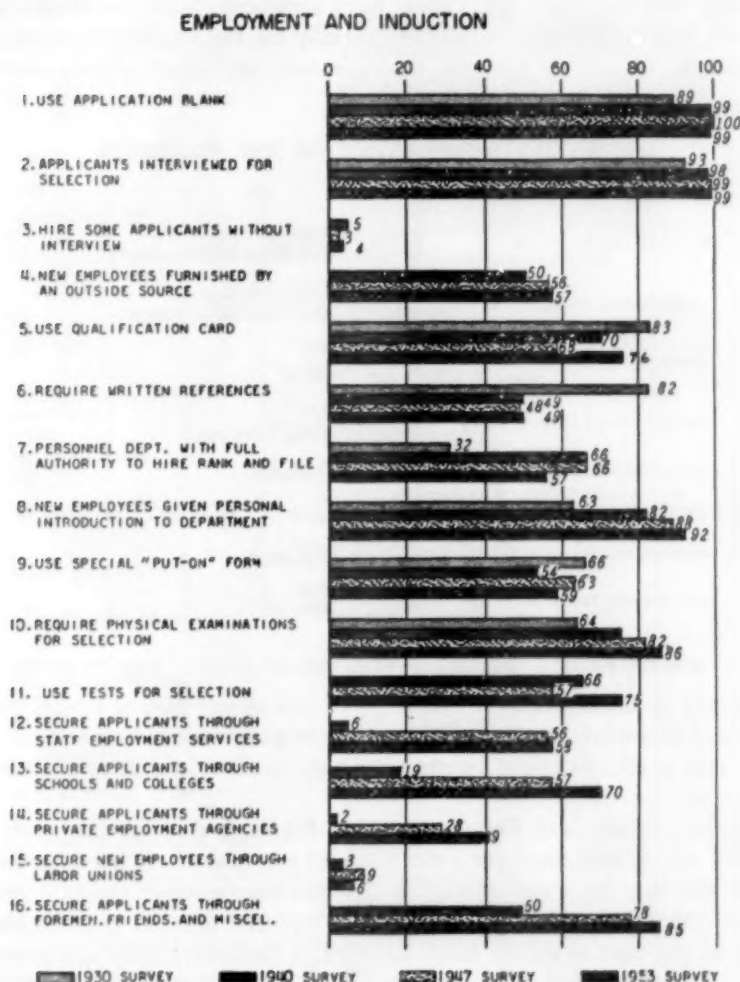
Firms Classified by Product

Product Manufactured	Firms
Food and kindred products	43
Tobacco	4
Textile mill products	11
Apparel and related products	10
Lumber and products	3
Furniture and fixtures	9
Paper and allied products	11
Printing and publishing	16
Chemical and allied products	39
Petroleum and coal products	33
Rubber	10
Leather and leather products	4
Stone, clay, and glass	15
Primary metals	13
Fabricated metal products	47
Machinery (other than electrical)	102
Electrical machinery and equipment	39
Transportation equipment	36
Instruments and related products	14
Miscellaneous manufacturing	25
Nonmanufacturing	
Financial institutions	44
Government agencies	5
Public utilities	23
Retail stores and mail-order houses	28
Transportation companies	21
Telephone, telegraph, and radio communication	14
Miscellaneous nonmanufacturing (not elsewhere classified)	3
Total	628

43 per cent of the firms, the final decision apparently rests with the line executives. A total of 92 per cent of the firms give new employees personal introductions to their new department, either by a foreman or by a member of the personnel department itself. This practice, a result of the trend towards the human-relations approach, has increased over the past twenty years. Approximately 76 per cent of the respondents indicated that they use some form of qualification-card for record purposes.

Methods of Selection.—Almost 86 per cent of the responding companies require prospective employees to take a physical examination. This shows a marked increase from the 64 per cent that required physical examinations

FIGURE 1

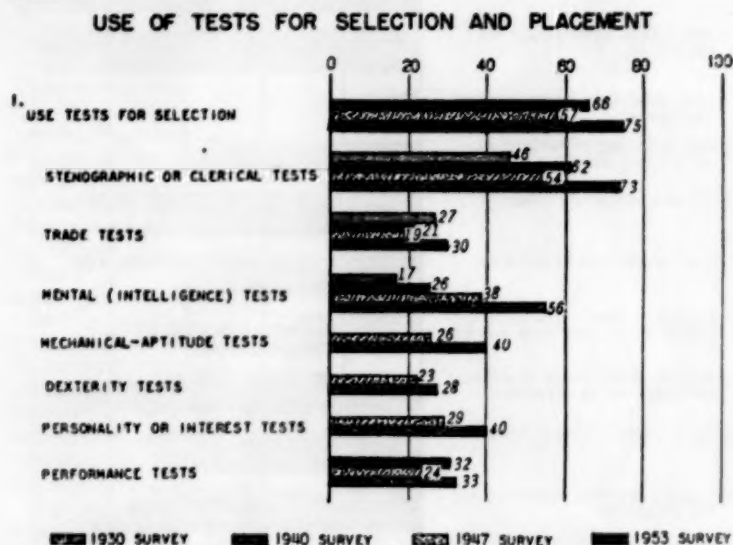


in 1930. Selection of employees by testing is more generally undertaken in the larger companies. Figure 1 indicates a decided increase between 1940–53 in the proportion of firms using testing methods. Of all the firms using a testing program, 98.3 per cent make use of stenographic or clerical tests,

by far the most frequently used. Equally interesting is the high incidence of the use of mental (intelligence) tests.

Figure 2 gives a more detailed picture of the types of tests undertaken in the 468 firms that have a testing program. Some interesting comments concerning tests and their application were appended to the questionnaires. Several firms indicated that they occasionally use the services of an outside consultant for certain (usually management) applicants. Applicants for

FIGURE 2



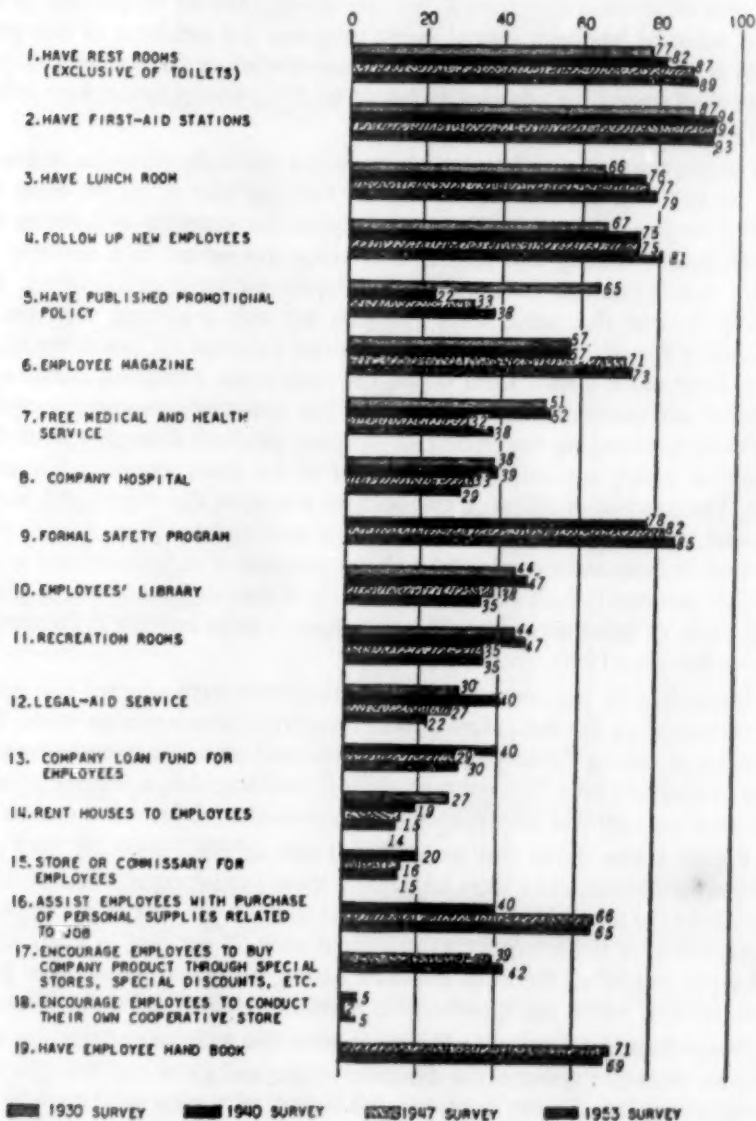
sales jobs in another company undergo clinical observation at a local guidance-and-counseling center. Still another company makes extensive use of such tests as schools might give to applicants, to assist in making placement decisions.

Health, Safety, and Employee Aids.—Figure 3 portrays the story of health, safety, and employee aids. Some 89 per cent of all the firms indicated that they have one or more rest rooms (exclusive of toilets), and a rather larger proportion (92.5 per cent) reported first-aid stations. More than 38 per cent of all the firms included in the survey (239 companies) operate a free medical service for employees, and 28.5 per cent have a company hospital. Only 11 per cent extend free medical care to the families of employees. Very few firms have a company dentist (only 4.8 per cent), but a much larger proportion use the services of a visiting nurse.

Of the firms employing less than 1,000, 16.1 per cent have visiting nurses,

FIGURE 3

EMPLOYEE HEALTH, SAFETY, AND MAINTENANCE



26.6 per cent of the firms employing between 1,000-4,999 workers use their services, and 40.3 per cent of the companies employing over 5,000 have visiting nurses. Twenty-eight per cent of manufacturing firms and 26.2 per cent of nonmanufacturing firms have nurses. Almost 85 per cent of all firms reported having a formal safety program; the incidence of this program is naturally much higher among manufacturing companies (92 per cent) than among the nonmanufacturers, 58.9 per cent of whom have a formal scheme for safety.

The provision of lunchrooms has increased markedly since the first survey in 1930. In the most recent survey, 78.5 per cent of all the firms reported having lunchrooms. There is no significant variation in their use between manufacturing and nonmanufacturing companies. In a majority of firms, executives and rank-and-file employees eat together; however, the survey showed that some firms maintain not only a general cafeteria or restaurant for all employees but also separate facilities for executives only. In a little more than a third of all the companies, recreation rooms and libraries are maintained for employees. The policy of operating company stores or encouraging the buying of company products through special discounts is widely applied, 41.7 per cent of all the firms reporting this practice. The practice of allowing co-operative stores, on the other hand, is not general, and only 29 companies encourage such undertakings. A high proportion of firms assist employees with the purchase of supplies related to the job (65 per cent). Such assistance may apply to the purchase of special clothing, tools, or other necessities. Figure 3 shows a large increase in companies doing this since 1940.

More than 81 per cent of the responding firms have adopted the policy of interviewing the individual a short time after he commences work. The practice of calling the employee to the personnel office for interview is used less extensively, only 22.6 per cent of the firms doing this, as contrasted with the 48.9 per cent that use the sponsorship or on-the-job interview system.

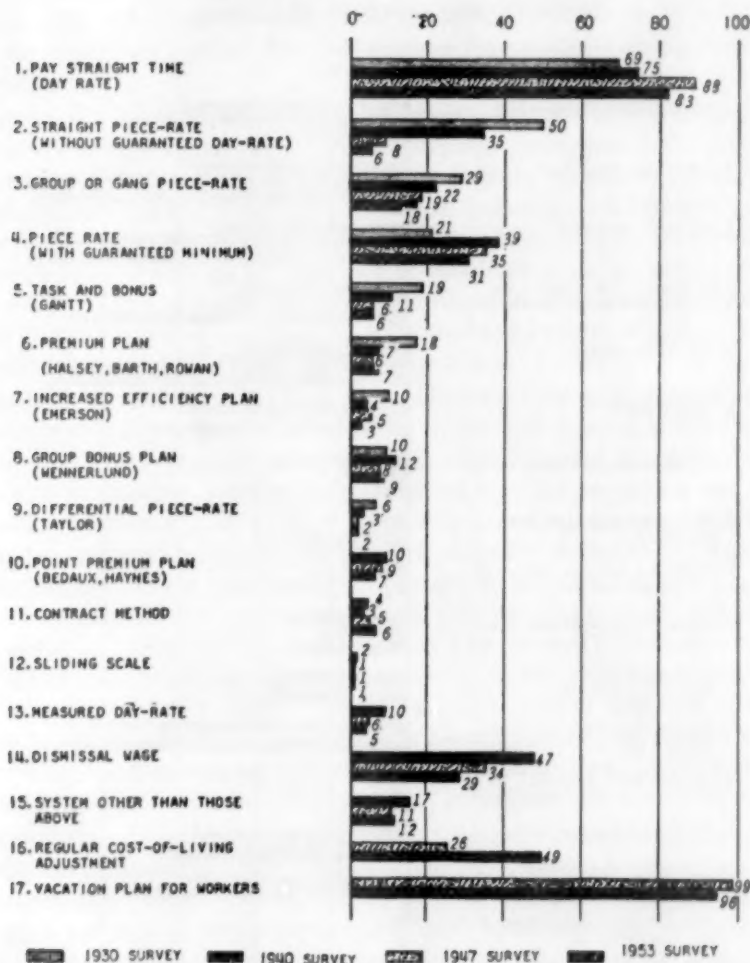
Figure 3 also shows that some 69 per cent of the companies have employee handbooks, and a large majority of these (403 companies out of 436) distribute the manuals to employees. More than 73 per cent of the responding firms have house organs, as compared with 57 per cent in 1930. Only 38.1 per cent of all the firms indicated having published promotional policies, most of which are apparently in narrative, rather than chart, form.

Wage-Payment Systems.—Figure 4 shows the wide use of the day rate, various incentive systems, the dismissal wage, and vacations. Straight day-rates continue to be the most popular system of paying workers. On the other hand, the various incentive systems continue to have support. The use

of the dismissal wage has decreased since 1940, but this may be because no large-scale dismissal occurred during this period. The rapid increase in the

FIGURE 4

PAYMENT TO DIRECT LABOR



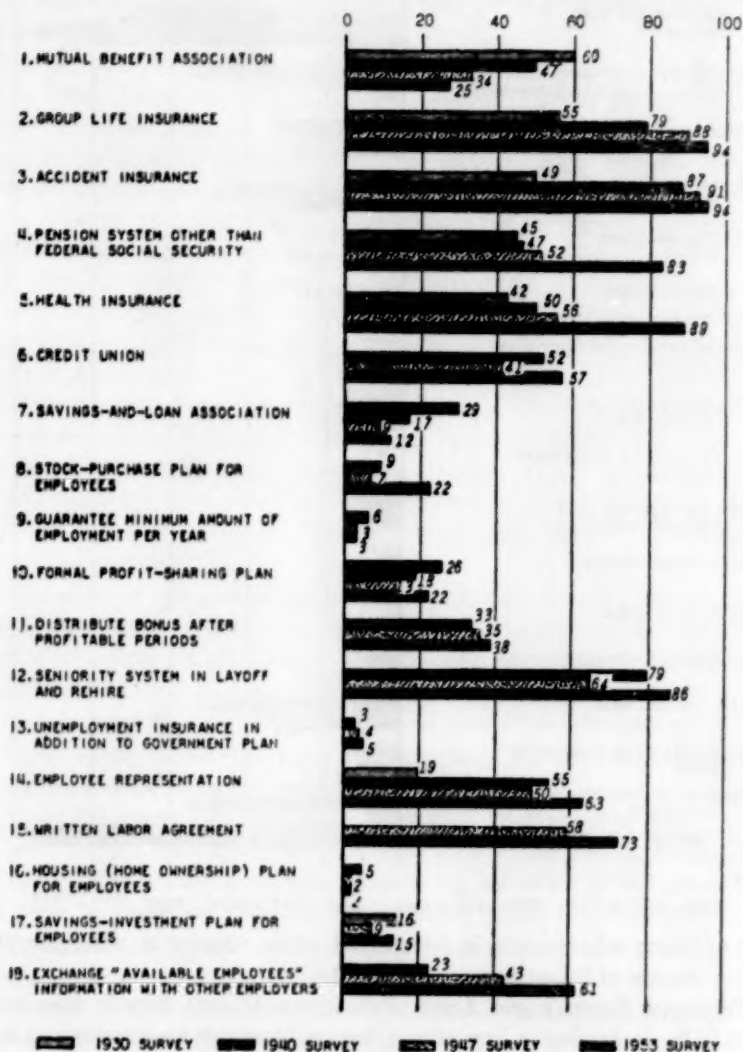
cost-of-living adjustments is interpreted as an attempt to meet the rapid rise in the cost of living during this period.

Employee Security and Labor Relations.—Mutual benefit associations seem to be decreasing in importance, but credit unions are growing, as is the

number of life insurance and accident insurance policies. This is a perfectly natural trend. The increased protection provided by insurance reduces the need for a mutual benefit association. Savings-and-loan groups are decreasing.

FIGURE 5

SECURITY AND EMPLOYEE RELATIONS



ing, whereas stock-purchase plans seem to have taken on new interest. Both profit-sharing and bonus-distributing seem to hold their own, with a modest increase since 1947. Of the respondents, 83.3 per cent report having pension plans. This recent growth is largely due to a combination of causes, the most important of which has perhaps been the opportunity to use profits which might otherwise be taxed very heavily. There is reason to believe that the majority of pension plans will outgrow the conditions which initially encouraged them.

Group life insurance shows a steady growth. In approximately 75 per cent of the companies, employees were reported as paying part of the group life premiums, and 72 per cent of the firms indicated that their health insurance plans were also partly contributory. In both cases, it is interesting to note that the proportion of contributory plans is lower than in 1947, with a decline of 6 per cent in the proportion of contributory life insurance plans and of 15 per cent in the proportion of contributory health insurance plans. Only 20 firms reported some type of guaranteed employment or income, but 49 others stated that they were studying the problem.

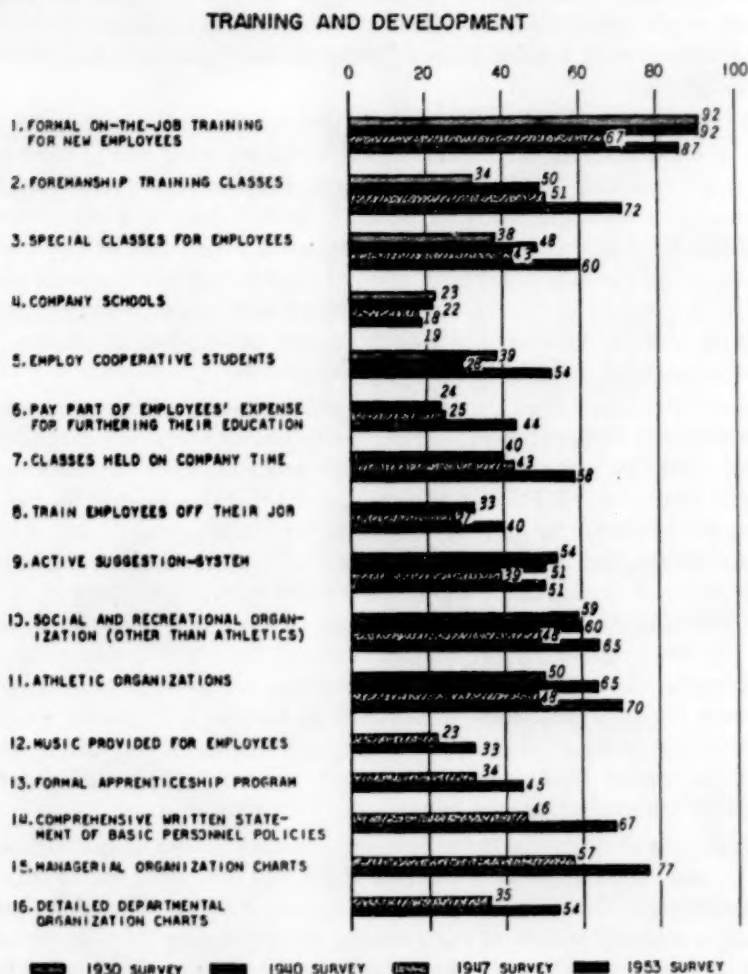
Some 73 per cent of all the firms surveyed have written labor agreements, a considerably higher proportion than the 58 per cent reported in the 1947 survey. Only 14.6 per cent of all the companies indicated that office employees were covered. Further analysis showed that this proportion was by no means consistent in all types of firms. For example, only one financial institution reported having a labor contract with office workers. The largest proportions of clerical unionization were noted by railroads (80 per cent), petroleum-and-coal product manufacturers (45 per cent), public utilities (33 per cent), motor vehicle manufacturers (24 per cent), manufacturers of industrial electrical machinery (24 per cent), and primary metals manufacturers (21 per cent). Some 372 firms have some type of employee representation; 81 per cent of these companies are unionized. One of the most interesting recent developments in this field has been multiple management. Of the 40 companies that have this system, 27 are unionized.

A majority of firms attempt to preserve a balance of factors in layoffs and recalls, since approximately two-thirds of the 539 companies with a seniority system use a "Seniority and Efficiency" system. Yet, one-third of the firms having a seniority system (29 per cent of all responding firms in the survey) use seniority as the most important of the criteria in determining layoffs or rehiring. It is interesting to note that of these 182 companies, 176 are unionized.

Training.—Figure 6 portrays the training picture. The objectives of training have broadened to include more than the mere development of a spe-

cialized technical or mechanical skill. The development of attitudes has become quite as important as the training for a particular skill, and it is significant that this phase of training often extends through all organizational

FIGURE 6



levels. In fact, increasing emphasis is being placed on the training of individuals within the management group, both in the elements of supervision and in more general subjects which might enhance their managerial abilities. Formal on-the-job training of new employees was reported by almost 87

per cent of respondents. Almost without exception, firms having on-the-job training use foremen or other proficient workers to instruct the new employee; however, 33.6 per cent of the companies indicated that special instructors were also employed. Approximately 40 per cent of the firms have extra training off the job, a sharp increase from the 27 per cent reporting this type of training in 1947. Of the 252 firms that reported a system for training employees off their jobs, 237 indicated that lectures are used; moving pictures are employed by 219 firms, and exhibits are used for demonstration purposes by 200.

Almost 60 per cent of the respondents indicated the operation of special classes for employees; of these firms, almost two-thirds give instruction in safety for rank-and-file workers, and an even higher proportion (79 per cent) give instruction relating to the company products and processes. Almost 48 per cent of the companies having special classes for employees (28.5 per cent of all respondents) teach courses in "general education." Certain arrangements may be made to assist the employee financially with further education. Altogether, 44.3 per cent of all the firms assist employees in this respect, 27.4 per cent assist with night schooling, 22.5 per cent share correspondence-course costs, and 27.9 per cent partially subsidize attendance at public school or other outside classes.

From 34 per cent having a formal apprenticeship program in 1947, the proportion rose to 45 per cent in 1953. The actual increase in manufacturing firms that operate apprenticeship systems is probably greater than these figures indicate, for the proportion of nonmanufacturing companies was higher in the 1953 survey than in that made in 1947. Since 1930, when 34 per cent of the companies had a foreman-training program, the proportion increased to 72 per cent in 1953. A further interesting indication of developments in the field of executive training is the fact that almost 55 per cent of the companies also continue their training into the higher echelons of management. This phenomenal growth portrays the wide interest in increasing the effectiveness of the foremen and other management representatives.

The managerial organization chart is used in a larger proportion of companies than is the departmental chart (see Fig. 6), but the use of both has increased since 1947. The more general chart is not distributed so widely to employees as is the departmental organization chart, but since the rank-and-file worker is normally most concerned with relationships within his department, this is not surprising. In 84 per cent of the cases, the managerial organization chart is distributed to all major and minor executives and, in a much smaller proportion of cases, to major executives only. Almost

all of the companies that have departmental charts also have the more comprehensive charts, which suggests that companies are inclined to develop analysis on a comprehensive scale and to consider departmental analysis as auxiliary studies. Almost 67 per cent of the firms have written personnel policies, and 63 per cent of them distribute these statements to employees.

The Importance of the Personnel Function

The importance of the personnel function is illustrated in part by the executive level to which the head of the personnel department reports, as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Officer to Whom the Head of the Personnel Function Reports

Title	Number Reporting	Percentage*
President	153	32.8
Assistant to president	3	0.6
Vice-president	158	33.8
Assistant to vice-president	1†
Director (manager) of industrial relations	15	3.2
Director of personnel relations	5	1.1
Plant (general) manager	81	17.3
General superintendent	8	1.7
Production superintendent	4	0.9
Treasurer or secretary	11	2.4
Chairman of the board	4	0.9
Personnel committee	2	0.5
Other	22	4.8
Total	467	100.0

* Figures expressed as percentages of 467.

† Less than one-half of 1 per cent.

Recreation.—Social and athletic organizations enjoy widespread popularity, but there has not been a significant increase in their use since 1940. These organizations tend to be run either co-operatively by management and the employees or by the employees themselves.

Suggestions.—The proportion of firms having an active suggestion-system is surprisingly low—51 per cent of all responding companies. This is, perhaps, a reflection of the difficulty of sustaining this type of program; undoubtedly many companies have introduced a suggestion-system on the assumption that it would generate its own effectiveness but have allowed it to atrophy in the absence of continued encouragement and active administration.

Job Evaluation and Merit-Rating.—Since 1947, the proportion of firms making job analysis has increased impressively from 66 per cent to 80 per cent in 1953 (Fig. 7). Of the four major types of job-evaluation systems, the point method continues to be the most widely used, followed by the factor-comparison method and the classification system, in that order. The ranking system is currently used to a very limited extent (see Table 5). Of the total number surveyed, 382 companies using the merit-rating either have

FIGURE 7

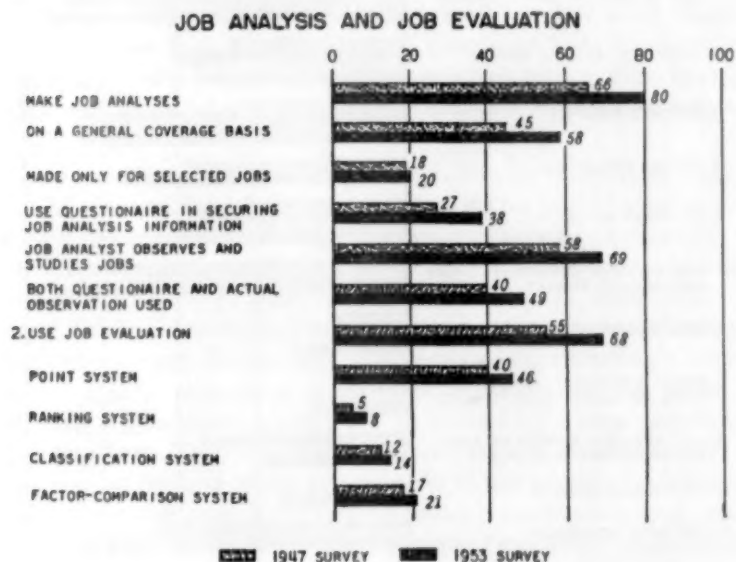


TABLE 5

Use of Job-Evaluation Plans*

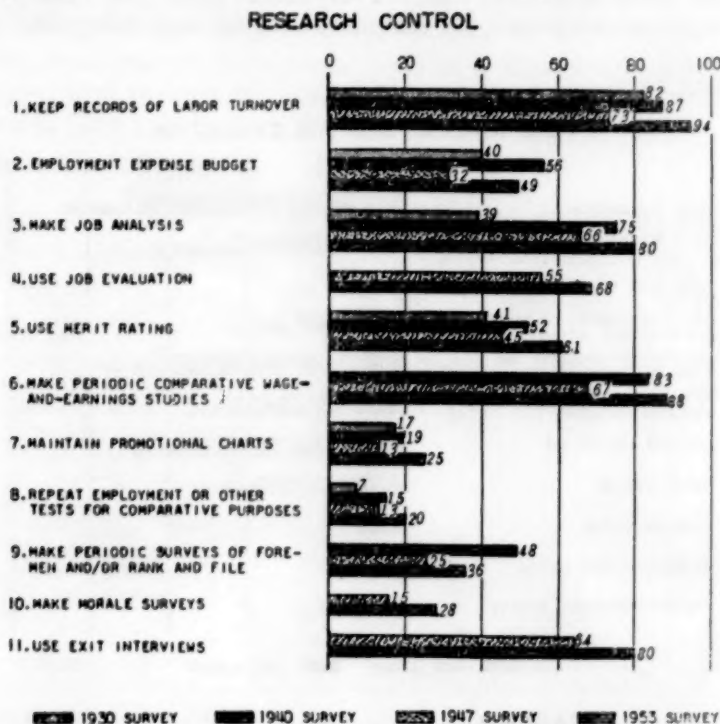
Plan	Sole Plan Used	Point Also Used	Ranking Also Used	Classification Also Used	Factor Comparison Also Used
Point	206	..	23	26	34
Ranking	17	23	..	4	3
Classification	51	26	4	..	5
Factor comparison	88	34	3	5	..

* Figures indicate the number of companies using the plans listed. Thus, 206 firms use the point system and no other; 23 firms use both point and ranking systems, etc.

job evaluation, or make job analysis. Forty-seven per cent rate rank-and-file employees only, and the remaining 11 per cent use rating only for executives.

Personnel Research.—More than 91 per cent of the firms maintain records of labor turnover, 86.5 per cent apply them to the whole organization,

FIGURE 8



and almost 55 per cent keep them by departments. The proportion of companies making morale surveys is still rather low—28 per cent—though it shows a marked increase from the 15 per cent of the 1947 survey.

Summary

This survey illustrates the general vitality of contemporary personnel management in adapting its methods to a changing environment and in improving or introducing new techniques. The survey also emphasizes the comprehensive nature of modern personnel administration which makes it indispensable as a separate function in all but the smaller companies. There is some evidence of a shift in emphasis away from subjective methods of

selection and placement and in the direction of objective testing-and-guidance procedures. A very high proportion of firms secure applicants through the recommendation of existing employees. Though less unanimous in the use of other recruitment sources, respondents use schools, colleges, and, to a slightly lesser extent, state employment services widely. Very few companies choose to recruit employees through labor unions.

Many companies are alive to the opportunities for constructive work in the important field of employee integration and communication. Follow-up of employees, in most cases delegated to selected individuals not necessarily connected with the personnel department, is widely used as an integrating procedure. More than two-thirds of all companies have employee handbooks, and a rather larger proportion have house organs. Even among the smaller companies a large proportion maintained regular company magazines.

There also appears to be a trend towards simpler methods of wage payment. In place of the relatively complex incentive plans (some of which, however, still enjoy limited support), companies appear to be favoring wage plans that are readily understandable by the employee and easily administered by the company. Straight-time payment is the most widely used method. Of the incentive payments, piece-rate, with guaranteed minimum, is the most popular. Fringe benefits have played an increasingly important part in industrial relations in recent years. Pension plans, and health, accident, and life insurance benefits are all offered by a large proportion of responding firms. There appears to be a trend towards noncontributory plans in the field of life and health insurance. With the widespread introduction of such plans, the need for certain traditional benefit plans (e.g., the mutual benefit association) is waning. Guaranteed minimum employment still has rather limited support. Of various alternative systems offering additional financial incentives to employees, bonus distributions following profitable periods are more popular than either profit-sharing or stock-purchase plans. Rather less than one-quarter of responding firms report having profit-sharing; a similar proportion have stock-purchase plans.

More than three-quarters of responding firms have written labor agreements; clerical unionization, however, is still very limited, particularly in the white-collar organizations. Especially interesting are the development of training schemes in general educational subjects and the increasing popularity of supervisory training at the foreman level and above. In spite of the claims sometimes made for intensive technical-training schemes, apprenticeship programs appear to have gained significantly in popularity during the postwar period.

Many personnel departments are active in maintaining organization charts as an important subsidiary to the establishing of rational functional relationships and lines of authority within the organization. The managerial organization chart (covering the organization generally) is very widely used, and the departmental chart is used to a lesser extent. Written statements of personnel policies are made by more than two-thirds of all companies. An indication of the importance attached to the personnel function is the fact that many personnel directors report directly to officers high in the organization, frequently to the president or to a vice-president.

The Sect-to-Denomination Process in an American Religious Movement: The Disciples of Christ

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THE CONCEPTS AND HYPOTHESES pertaining to the sect-to-denomination process are well known in the sociology of religion. Relevant to the present study are the familiar formulations of Niebuhr,¹ Troeltsch,² Weber,³ Park,⁴ Becker,⁵ Clark,⁶ Pope,⁷ and Wach.⁸ Troeltsch and Weber define the ideal type of the *sect* as a body of believers based upon voluntary acceptance of membership, as contrasted with the ideal type of the *church*, in which the individual has an ascribed status. Elaborating these ideal types in more detail, Park, Becker, Clark, and Niebuhr suggest that the characteristics of the church (Becker prefers the term "ecclesia") are the following: (1) membership by birth; (2) institutional administration of the means of grace, through dogma and ecclesiastical hierarchy; (3) inclusiveness, in that it attempts to amalgamate with the State and the dominant classes; (4) the tendency to attempt conversion of all members of the society; (5) the tendency to compromise with, or adjust to, the ethics of the secular world.

NOTE.—Material in this paper is based on the writer's unpublished monograph entitled "The Formative Years of the Disciples of Christ: A Sociological View."

¹ Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, Henry Holt Co., 1929), 17-21.

² Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, trans. by O. Wyon, (London, Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1931), I, 331-43.

³ Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (3 vols.), I, 153, 211.

⁴ Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921), 50, 202-03, 611-12, 657, 870-74.

⁵ Howard Becker and Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology* (New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932), 624-28.

⁶ E. T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1937), 11-24, 218-31.

⁷ Liston Pope, *Millbands and Preachers* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942), 117-40.

⁸ Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944), 195-205, and *Types of Religious Experience* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951), 187-208.

By contrast, the ideal type of the sect is distinguished by such characteristics as the following: (1) voluntary election, or membership by joining; (2) a tendency to reject hierarchy and the official priesthood; (3) exclusiveness, in making rigid demands for ethical purity on the part of members, and in a strong in-group sense of difference and antagonism towards out-groups; (4) withdrawal from the world, resisting compromise, and attacking "worldliness"; (5) the tendency to arise among the "disinherited" (the socially, economically, and culturally neglected).

Niebuhr has noted the fact that, by its very nature, the sect cannot last longer than the parent generation, since it depends upon original experiences and insights not available directly to the children of the founders. In addition to the effect of the second and third generation upon the sect, the influence of worldly success, which often accompanies the practice of the sectarian ethical virtues, is important. The gradual success of members of the group in worldly socio-economic pursuits increases the pressure upon the sect to change its ways, i.e., to *accommodate* to the world.

The views of Niebuhr, Park, Becker, and Clark all stress the accommodation process, by which the sect is transformed into a *denomination*. Pope has pointed out in this connection that the original typology of Troeltsch was static; it did not view the sect and the church on a continuum, but saw them as exclusively different types, with no thought of the one developing in the direction of the other. The point to be emphasized is that sect, denomination, and church are really relative points on a scale, not separate and distinct entities. The denomination—as this type was developed by Niebuhr and Becker—is actually a sect in a later stage of development, the stage in which it has accommodated to other sects and to the secular world. Theoretically, a religious movement may contain some aspects of the sect, and other aspects that indicate movement towards the type of the church.

Wach helps to sharpen the problems involved in the use of constructed types, like those of sect and denomination, by pointing out that the criteria describing them cannot be applied with rigor and empirical exactness. He also introduces another type of religious movement, which he calls the *independent group*, and which begins as a group resembling a sect but through a gradual process becomes much more like a church. "The adoption of its own principle of organization is the distinctive feature marking the development of an aggregate of separatists into an independent group."⁹

⁹ Wach, *Sociology of Religion*, 194.

The Problem

Attempts to apply these formulations intensively to specific religious movements have not been numerous.¹⁰ In this study I have used the formulations in interpreting the first decades of an American religious movement—The Disciples of Christ. Histories of this movement have not recognized, except in a cursory way, the relevance of the sociological perspective. Two basic questions were considered: Do the historical data support the conclusion that, sociologically, a religious movement has a "natural history"? and Can the typology of "sect" and "denomination" be meaningfully used to describe the history of the Disciples of Christ?

The first question is important because of the tendency on the part of some students of religion to exclude religious organizations, structures, and institutions from the influence of the social, psychological, economic, and political processes which have had a part in the origin and development of other societal institutions. The attempt thus to exclude religious institutions from the influence of the factors which play upon other areas of society is inadmissible to the social scientist. This is why, from his perspective, Park stressed the point that the sect develops under recognized and definite conditions, which are similar for all institutions like it, and that it has a sociological structure predetermined by characteristic processes and direction of development. The religious movement may have, from the theological point of view, a divine or supernatural history. But the social scientist must concentrate on its natural, observable, and objective history.

I attempted to assess the degree to which the types provided are useful theoretically. Since I of necessity used historical documents, this assessment could not be accomplished in terms of precise measurement. The use of historical documents in a study of this kind offers some objections. It means, for instance, that we have evidence of the ideas, beliefs, and values of only those participants in the Disciples movement who wrote about them in the journals of the group. On the other hand, it seems apparent that, during the period studied, those whose ideas and attitudes did get expressed in the journals were remarkably representative of what seems to have been the chief ideological sentiments of the group as a whole. Our present knowledge of this group's own self-interpretation—to use Wach's phrase—would seem to bear this out. At any rate, we have to be content with the evidence provided by the journals, since they are virtually all we have.

¹⁰ A recent and notable use of these theoretical tools is that of O'Dea in his article, "Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (November, 1954).

Early History and Objectives of the Movement

The movement had its beginnings under the leadership of Thomas and Alexander Campbell, father and son, near Washington, Pennsylvania, at a meeting of the Christian Association of Washington, in 1809. It began as a split from the Presbyterians. In 1813 it united with the Baptists, but between 1827-30 this connection was broken off. After this separation Alexander Campbell and his group joined forces with the "Christians," led by Barton W. Stone, who had been at Cane Ridge in the Great Revival of the West about 1800.

The natural history of this movement clearly emerges from a study of its basic documents.¹¹ Park writes: "Movements which were at first inchoate impulses and aspirations gradually take form; policies are defined, doctrines and dogmas formulated and eventually an administrative machinery and efficiencies are developed to carry into effect policies and purposes."¹² This description of the process appears to be accurate for the Disciples of Christ.

In any organization, it is necessary to define objectives, to articulate purposes. In this case, the objective was a return to "simple Christianity, based on the Scriptures," which would unite the divided factions of the church. But just what *is* "simple Christianity based on Scriptures"? Unless a group can reach a consensus on this point it cannot effectively articulate its purposes. And the matter cannot be left entirely to individuals, or there will be no common basis for group experience. Herein were planted the seeds of a new religious sect. The Christian Association of Washington, though it believed itself to be simply a movement to "purify" the church, was really a new sect. It is a fact of some sociological import that a group that claimed not to be a sect was unmistakably identified as one by other groups.

Sect-to-Denomination Characteristics among Disciples of Christ

Both the natural history of a religious movement and the marks of the sect-to-denomination process are clearly evident from a study of the Disciples of Christ. First, we discover the outlines of a developing consciousness of group "apartness," or a sense of difference from other groups. This was perhaps brought about by the fact that other religious groups treated the Disciples as a new sect. A correspondent from Kentucky wrote to Campbell,

¹¹ *Christian Baptist* (1823-29), and *Millennial Harbinger* (1830-70). *Christian Baptist* was begun and edited by Alexander Campbell, leader of the Disciples movement, and continued for seven years. *Millennial Harbinger* was begun by Campbell and edited by him until about two years before his death in 1866. It was continued by other Disciples leaders until 1870. Both journals are remarkable collections of Americana and contain numerous evidences pertaining to the sect-to-denomination process among Disciples of Christ.

¹² *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, 873.

asking him what "Campbellism" is. "It is," wrote Campbell, "a nickname of reproach invented and adopted by those whose views, feelings, and desires are all sectarian. . . . Those who bestow such names are actuated either by a spirit of foolish jesting, or . . . vengeful spirit. . . . If the people of the different sects slander me or any of those who prefer . . . the kingdom of Jesus the Messiah to any sect . . . they must answer to him who judges righteously."¹³ Numerous illustrations of similar statements can be cited in the literature. The atmosphere of conflict and controversy, which had the effect of coalescing the Disciples into a definite and separate in-group, did not subside until several decades after the beginnings of the movement.

Second, the growing recognition of the need for organization and consolidation of efforts—which was to modify if not erase earlier objections to organizations and fears of authority—is easily discernible. In 1823, Alexander Campbell wrote: "Whether such an alliance . . . be called a session, a presbytery, a synod . . . a conference . . . or an annual meeting . . . wherever [it] assumes the character of a representative body . . . it essentially becomes the 'man of sin.'"¹⁴ The Disciples of Christ wanted to stress the direct accessibility of the means of grace to every individual Christian. They rejected quite vigorously, as the statement quoted from Campbell tends to show, the attempt to develop any kind of official hierarchy. But in a very few years this attitude was to change noticeably, in response to the growing need for some kind of structure within which they might further their objectives.

Third, a conscious and determined campaign against "worldliness" and "paganism," which was to be toned down as some members of the group rose in socio-economic status, indicates sectarian beginnings. Many evidences of sectarian ethical rigor are available in the literature. Evident, especially in the early years of the movement, was the tendency to criticize other religious groups and the "nonreligious" for their worldliness and evil compromises. Typical of their attitude was Alexander Campbell's statement that "the spirit of the present order . . . looks with . . . complacency on the pride and vanity, the tinsel and show . . . the avarice and ambition . . . of this world."¹⁵

Fourth, an important trait of the sect is seen in the Disciples' emphasis upon "restoring the New Testament church," a major motif in this movement. Thomas Campbell wrote in the "charter" that the cure for disunity in Christendom is "simple, evangelical Christianity, free from all mixture of human opinions and inventions of men . . . , the profession and practice of

¹³ *Christian Baptist*, V, 451.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 73.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 295.

the primitive church."¹⁶ This emphasis upon restoration of the primitive church is, of course, related to the sectarian insistence upon direct access to the means of grace. The Disciples claimed that the primitive church had no official hierarchy such as the institutional churches developed, and that the hierarchy was not Scriptural, and therefore it was inadmissible.

Fifth, the sect tends to arise among the disinherited. The bulk of the Disciples' adherents was certainly among "the religiously neglected poor," who, as Elmer T. Clark points out, "find the conventional religion of their day unsuited to their social and psychological needs."¹⁷ Their critique of worldliness, so evident in the early years of the Disciples, had its *immediate* source in economic and social factors. The beginnings of the movement on the frontier undoubtedly had much to do with this. As early as 1834, "the spirit of the world" had apparently entered the churches to a considerable degree, at least from the point of view of the Disciples. "The spirit of the world," wrote Alexander Campbell, "has invaded the church. The love of the world triumphs over the love of God. The fashions of the world have supplanted the manners and customs of Christians. . . . The whole order of Christian worship is fashioned to the caprice of the rich and influential whom it would allure into the ranks . . . by a compromise of all its heavenly attributes. . . ."¹⁸

With the increase in wealth of some members of the group, the appeal of frontier simplicity was lessened and more elaborate church buildings, more dignified worship, better-dressed and more sophisticated worshipers began to appear. Socio-economic factors also were instrumental in changing the Disciples' attitude towards education. Education was at first regarded with disapproval, then accepted in a tentative, halting way, until in some quarters it is now accepted as not only desirable but essential.

At its inception, a religious movement has at least two possible alternatives with respect to the surrounding society and culture. It may attempt to withdraw from the world and create "the city set upon the hill," to keep itself unstained by contact with "the world." This approach is difficult in America, but still relatively possible, as the case of the Amish shows. Amish culture is a particularly relevant illustration since the major principle of its culture is conformity to the patterns of the Bible. Among the Amish, the Bible, literally interpreted, is believed to be the source of all values. But even among the Amish the city-set-upon-a-hill alternative has been dependent upon their retention of agriculture as the only suitable occupation.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Declaration and Address* (Washington, Pennsylvania, Brown and Sample, 1809).

¹⁷ *Small Sects in America*, 16.

¹⁸ *Millennial Harbinger* (1834), 373.

¹⁹ See John Lewis Gillin, *The Ways of Men* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), 209-20.

This procedure was at least theoretically possible for the Disciples of Christ. But it was not really a "live" alternative to the degree that the Disciples have not remained an isolated rural people. If the religious movement attempts to take its place among other groups, to win converts—as the Disciples chose to do—it becomes subject to all the influences which play upon any institution. In short, the group accommodates to the world. The implication is that the sect-to-denomination process becomes practically inevitable unless the movement dies out completely, or remains in the backwash of religious influence.

Among Disciples of Christ no really serious effort was made to establish an isolated subculture which would preserve them unsullied from the world. The Campbell group rolled up its collective sleeves and began to contest the Baptists and Methodists for the place of prominence in the evangelization of the frontier. Thus the involvement of the group in the sect-to-denomination process was, sociologically speaking, practically assured.

Summary

The tentative descriptive hypothesis which emerges from this study is that the Disciples of Christ were, in a number of identifiable respects, though not in all, a *sect*; they are rapidly becoming a *denomination*, but sectlike aspects are still much in evidence. They will never become a *church*. Their polity hardly makes this a live alternative, and the American political milieu makes this almost an impossibility. One caution should be added: these concepts cannot be used as theoretical frames into which to force empirical data. The writer is convinced, however, that the typology of the sect and denomination has considerable empirical, as well as theoretical, relevance to the group considered in this study.

A hypothesis that needs further study is that the movement from sect to denomination among Disciples is associated with the shift from a predominantly rural society towards a society increasingly dominated by urban culture traits. Available evidence indicates that the survival of sectlike characteristics in this group is most apparent in the rural areas and/or among congregations of recent rural-to-urban migrants. This hypothesis is of extreme importance in understanding this religious group, for it appears that most of the tensions and disagreements which exist within it are fundamentally related to the degree to which individual segments of the group have, or have not, developed away from sect-traits towards those of the denomination. Its sectlike traits, and conservatism, seem strongest in areas exhibiting rural social and cultural characteristics.

Introductory College Economics: The Problem of Content

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IT IS NEITHER NEW NOR PROFOUNDLY SHOCKING to report that the introductory presentation of college economics is poorly received. Official recognition of this condition may be found in the summary statement of the Committee on the Undergraduate Teaching of Economics that "a specter is haunting teachers of economics, the specter of bad teaching."¹

Although a number of reasons have been advanced to account for the poor performance in the introductory course, the explanations are largely reducible to the difficulty of teaching economic theory to beginners who are typically sophomores. It is said that the subject matter is too abstract for the sophomore intellect. Many instructors complain that students fail to grasp the relationship between the concepts of theory and the problems of public policy and business judgment. Some teachers, despairing of imparting any "economic vision" to their charges, justify the course in principles on grounds of the training which it supposedly affords in developing habits of logical thinking and rigorous analysis. As far back as 1890 Professor Simon Patten of the University of Pennsylvania was urging that economics should replace mathematics and physics as the subject most likely to inculcate "mental discipline."²

In spite of the widespread opinion among economists that a serious pedagogic problem exists, there is no consensus for or against specific reforms. A mathematics prerequisite is sometimes advocated as a tool for simplifying both teaching and learning. Visual aids or problem books which concretize the supply-and-demand analysis are regarded with favor by many who have utilized them. Some suggest condensing the theoretical material, and others argue that it would be assimilated more readily if the principles course were preceded by an integrated social science course. Part of the responsibility is commonly assigned to graduate schools for training future teachers to be

¹ "The Teaching of Undergraduate Economics," Report of the Committee on the Undergraduate Teaching of Economics, *American Economic Review* (Suppl.), XL (1950), 1.

² *Ibid.*, 22.

chiefly research experts. A revised curriculum, with more of a humanistic emphasis, and teaching internships for advanced students have been recommended to counteract the overspecialization of the graduate schools.³

Although the writer heartily welcomes attempts to improve the teaching of economics, he does not believe that this avenue of approach, taken by itself, offers an accurate diagnosis of existing ills, or a fruitful solution. Convinced that their subject is regarded as difficult and dry, most teachers propose that the remedy is to seek ways and means for motivating students to learn the economics which is customarily taught in principles courses. While ready to experiment with new answers to the question of how to teach, instructors of economics neglect the problem of what to teach. They overlook the possibility that it may be the subject matter rather than the method of presentation that is responsible for the unsatisfactory student-response.

Almost universally, the introductory course consists of a bird's-eye view of the parent discipline. The standard textbooks generally include a chapter for each topic which warrants a semester course in the curriculum of a major graduate school. Like the graduate schools, the elementary texts consider price theory and, less often, income theory as the core of economics. Since most of the complications in the teaching of principles arise out of the endeavor to make price theory intelligible to nonspecialists, this paper proposes to examine the theory's presuppositions and implications, with the objective of casting light on the reasons why it offers such an unpalatable learning experience for American undergraduates.

Philosophically, price theory, or neoclassical economics, is a third-generation descendant of the classical economics of Smith and Ricardo. In the tradition of classical economics, it is largely concerned with the regulatory role of the market. As presented in elementary courses, the theory is a simplified version of the authoritative synthesis worked out by Alfred Marshall⁴ before the turn of the century. The textbook price theory, even to a greater extent than did Marshall or the classical forebears, restricts its focus to the logic of economizing and the practical applications of this logic in allocating scarce resources among competing uses.

The inadequacy of introductory economics courses that are organized around the behavior of markets and the problem of economizing is most clearly evident in the areas which tie in closely with the subjects of economic change or the concentration of economic power. In the case of economic change, the entire topic is markedly understressed. Although the Russian

³ For a discussion of the training of teachers of economics, see H. R. Bowen (ed.), "Graduate Education in Economics," *American Economic Review* (Suppl.), XLIII (1953).

⁴ *Principles of Economics* (London, 1890).

authoritarian economy, or British socialism, or violent upsurges in Asia represent new and central facts for Americans, most elementary texts confine their discussion of economic evolution to either a first or a last chapter. The leading idea in the chapter usually dwells on the necessity for a rational allocation of resources in any economic order. A cursory survey of British and Russian experience is frequently thrown in, along with a few words on Marx, Veblen, and the Industrial Revolution. More often than not, the material on social-economic development is abbreviated in coverage and poorly integrated with the nonhistorical presentation of the rest of the course. The standard textbooks frequently regard this material as a not entirely welcome intrusion. Thus, one of the best of the elementary texts notes, after a seven-page historical survey of contemporary economic systems: "This is an introduction to economics rather than a book on social movements. Let us turn, therefore, to see how our economic analysis of prices can be applied to a noncapitalistic system."⁵

The textbooks play down the issue of change because of the theory which guides their apportionment of emphasis. Some economic theorists would claim that there is a branch of economics—"dynamics"—which is concerned with economic change. By "change" these economists refer to changes in prices, production, expectations, or willingness to hold money. However, the changes in question always take place within an institutional framework which is assumed to be unchanging, and economic dynamics has little or nothing to say which explains how economic institutions change.⁶ Since some degree of scarcity of resources is a feature of every society, neoclassical economists view the generalizations of economic theory as laws which are valid, regardless of time or place. But, in concentrating on a process common to all cultures, economics ignores the background of social objectives, power structures, and technological usages which occasions the differences and produces the changes in economic organization. Attachment to economics as a body of universal laws is the reason why introductory courses pay so little attention to economic history or to the rise and decline of economic systems. The net effect in the classroom is to strip critical problems of the dynamism which they naturally possess in the modern world.

Unlike the treatment in economic evolution, the elementary discussion of the corporation and economic concentration misses few of the relevant factual details. Students would find it difficult not to become aware of the separation of ownership from control in the large firms. Texts quote liberally from researches, such as the famous Berle and Means study, to demonstrate

⁵ Paul A. Samuelson, *Economics* (New York, 1951), 734.

⁶ For a presentation of this type of economic theory, see J. R. Hicks, *Value and Capital* (London, 1939).

how groups representing nearly complete stock ownership exercise control in less than one-tenth of the largest nonfinancial corporations.⁷ In the same vein, most courses include the vital statistics which reveal that about half the assets of all corporations are owned by the less than 1 per cent who constitute the giants.⁸

To beginning students attempting to fit together the different parts of the course dealing with Big Business, the linkages between the empirical data and the theory must frequently be baffling. Ownership and control provide a good illustration. Separated in the descriptive chapters of the texts, they are fused when the reader arrives at their theoretical sections. Here he deals with a firm headed by an entrepreneur whose objective, like that of the traditional owner, is to maximize the profits of his enterprise. There is nothing in the highly elaborated theory which the student must master in order to differentiate the stockholder-owner from the popular stereotype of the manager-owner. One text cautions readers that the assumptions which regard businessmen as "motivated primarily by the desire to maximize money profits may have become so thoroughly entrenched in the 'ideal types' of traditional theory that we forget to question whether they actually reflect reality."⁹ However, after issuing this admonition, Bowman and Bach proceed to spell out the theory derived from the assumption of profit maximization in great detail and without offering alternative explanations of business behavior.

Moreover, it is not easy to translate the information in the textbooks into an intelligent and consistent evaluation of the giant unit. The texts regard pure price competition as the economic ideal, and they associate its absence with the high prices and restrictions of monopoly.¹⁰ The competitive yardstick, however, yields confusing results when applied to the many industries requiring heavy initial capital investments. Thus, in searching for the causes of the secular rise in American living standards, the durable goods and electro-chemical industries receive special citation because of their enormous contribution to scientific research and technological change. Yet, when the subject shifts to the study of monopoly, these same industries provide the

⁷ The precise figure is 6 per cent of the two hundred largest nonfinancial corporations. See A. A. Berle and G. C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York, 1947), 94.

⁸ The text from which these data are drawn indicates that 52 per cent of the assets of all corporations were owned by the largest one-tenth of 1 per cent of the corporations. See A. E. Burns *et al.*, *Modern Economics* (New York, 1953), 468.

⁹ M. J. Bowman and G. L. Bach, *Economic Analysis and Public Policy* (New York, 1949), 90.

¹⁰ Public utilities are usually considered to be "natural monopolies" and, as such, they are the one major industrial sector which almost all economists would exempt from price competition.

standard examples of ineffective and sporadic price competition. An acute observer of American business remarks that "the showpieces are, with rare exceptions, the industries which are dominated by a handful of large firms. The foreign visitor brought to the U.S. . . . visits the same firms as do the attorneys for the Department of Justice in their search for monopoly."¹¹

The theory of competition in the principles courses is a residue of the classical economists' attitude toward private economic power. Human nature, the classicists argued, was inherently self-seeking, and power, unless restrained, would of necessity assume exploitative forms. The ability of selfish individuals to harm the community could be rendered inert by stripping any single economic unit of significant influence in the economic decisions of society. If each industry was made up of a large number of buyers and sellers, power would be diffused among all of them and concentrated in none. In this kind of economy, the price mechanism would provide an efficient instrument for co-ordinating the decisions of individual economic units and harnessing their self-interest to the social goals of low prices, minimum profit rates, and maximum outputs proportioned to consumers' desires. As an added attraction, classical theory endowed governments with a minimum of power, since its reasoning was proof for the hypothesis that control of business could be entrusted to the automatic workings of the market.

The hopes and fears of the classical economists have become entrenched in the textbooks and in popular thinking. Unfortunately for the theory, the self-regulating competitive price system constitutes a twentieth-century Utopia. In those industries composed of but few firms, each seller is bound to possess the power to influence prices and production simply by virtue of size. In the labor market, in agriculture, and in retail trade, the small units display an overwhelming tendency to organize or to be organized by the government in order to obtain their share of market control. A host of reasons can be listed to show that the forces making for the acquisition of private economic power need not be antisocial and are unlikely to disappear: Depression-born fears of loss of livelihood lead to organization; economies of scale frequently favor large units; and sizeable reserves confer an advantage to the giant enterprise in the risky venture of introducing new products and processes.¹²

By focusing so single-mindedly on atomistic price competition as the theoretical norm, the textbooks shy away from realistic consideration of the problem of power and its implications for public policy. Acknowledging

¹¹ J. K. Galbraith, *American Capitalism* (Boston, 1952), 96.

¹² For an outstanding defense of the giant unit, see J. A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York, 1947), 81-106.

that the structure of industry is not likely to be disturbed to the extent necessary for restoring thoroughgoing competition, the texts tacitly accept the existence of giant firms and controlled markets as "normal phenomena." Policy, therefore, runs on two levels: a highly theoretical plane, largely divorced from practice, and an unrelated pragmatic approach, presenting *ad hoc* solutions to specific difficulties which can be accommodated more readily to existing conditions.¹³ For the teacher, failure to merge the two levels of policy means an absence of clear-cut criteria for distinguishing the types of concentration which are desirable and best left alone from those demanding public control or elimination. Introductory economics, as a consequence, falls short in promoting an understanding of the alternatives to an antitrust law which is seldom enforced but never, in its major premise, revised.

Economic change and concentration have been discussed at length because they illustrate how neoclassical economics, at least in its elementary versions, hinders intellectual growth in important areas. The traditional theory prevails in the classroom because it is fixed in the textbooks. The texts, with few exceptions, dominate the teaching situation because they set up a system of concepts couched in an unfamiliar terminology which requires extended elucidation. Instructors are reluctant to introduce topics which lie outside the textual presentation or to take issue with it lest students become confused or conclude that the popular impression of "two economists, three opinions" is a correct one and lose interest. The price of standardization is that students miss an exposure to economics as a stock of ideas concerned with crucial public issues and reflecting the conflicting interests and prejudices of two centuries of economic history.¹⁴

Furthermore, although economists do not agree in their evaluation of neoclassical economics, the dissenting opinions are seldom represented in the principles course. Many members of the profession question the relevance of competitive price theory in advanced industrial societies. Nevertheless, competitive theory still provides the foundation for the laws of distribution and market equilibrium which the introductory courses stress so heavily. In recent years, variants of the theory, which generalize it to include con-

¹³ Many economists put their trust in forces other than competition which they expect will produce the desirable results attributed to pure price competition. To quote one text: "Growth and change tend to correct . . . the restrictive effects of monopoly power."—Burns *et al.*, *Modern Economics*, 309. If this is true, the absence of extended consideration of economic growth and change in the elementary courses is all the more impressive.

¹⁴ The standardization which the writer criticizes does not necessarily inculcate a conservative viewpoint. While this is true of many texts, others favor some version of the welfare state. But the more welfare-minded textbooks suffer under the handicap of advocating social change within a framework which largely ignores the problem of change.

trolled markets, have been widely adopted in an attempt to impart more realism to the subject matter. Even in cases of monopolist market structures, neoclassical economics yields determinate theoretical answers only if one side of the market can be assumed to be competitive. The "monopolistic-competition" theories, moreover, are primarily explanations of the economic effects of advertising, retail trade, and small specialized manufacture. They add little that is new to our understanding of the giant firm since, like the theories of Cournot and Bertrand much earlier, they are largely confined to the problem of determining price-and-output behavior on the assumption that firms disregard their basic relationship of interdependence. Thus, Chamberlin's theory,¹⁵ the leading American contribution in this area, deals primarily with what he calls "product differentiation" in industries characterized by a large number of firms. In considering industries dominated by a few large firms, Chamberlin does not go much beyond restating the ideas of Bertrand, Cournot, and Edgeworth—all economists of an earlier generation.

The institutionalists' interpretation of economics in terms of technological change and cultural development is largely overlooked in the textbooks or relegated to references for "further reading."¹⁶ Similarly, the underconsumptionists, the historical critics, and the economists who wrote for popular, rather than academic, audiences receive scant attention. The accumulating body of empirical studies which casts doubt on orthodox theory either is omitted or its theoretical ramifications are ignored.¹⁷ The single great advance in undergraduate teaching since the Depression has been the incorporation of Keynes's income theory, along with the price analysis.

If a more effective introductory course is to be designed, its adequacy is not likely to exceed the degree to which it is free from preconceptions which channelize thought along sterile directions. Mention has already been made of the role of competitive price theory. The technique of analysis known as "methodological individualism"¹⁸ provides another part of the background responsible for the lack of breadth in elementary economics. Running through all of neoclassical economics, it sets the stage for economic theory by defining the individual in his capacity of producer or consumer as the key unit of study. If all producers and consumers were motivated by a desire to maximize their pecuniary return, the economist could conceptually re-

¹⁵ See Edward H. Chamberlin, *The Theory of Monopolistic Competition* (Cambridge, 1933).

¹⁶ To overcome this barrier, some institutionalists have written their own introductory texts. See C. E. Ayres, *The Industrial Economy* (New York, 1952).

¹⁷ For an excellent summarization and interpretation of the earlier of these studies, see Committee on Price Determination, *Cost Behavior and Price Policy* (New York, 1943).

¹⁸ The writer is indebted to Professor Von Hayek for the term "methodological individualism."

construct the behavior of his economic atoms with a high degree of precision. On the surface, the exact reasoning of the analysis confirms the hopes of earlier economists that, with price as a measuring rod, a science of human behavior might be perfected that would rival the accomplishments of the physical sciences.

The individualistic technique fosters a strong tendency to isolate economics from the other social sciences. It has remained unaffected by modern psychology and the point of view which interprets behavior in the perspective of growth and learning. For an additional barrier, an orientation of this nature has no place for the institutional frame of reference which constitutes the point of departure for the other disciplines. Whereas anthropology, government, and sociology explain individual behavior by relating it to a group or a cultural pattern, economics theorizes about individuals and makes society intelligible by summing up the actions of the discrete units who compose it.

As a by-product of these differences, "integrated" social science courses usually fail to integrate. Although course descriptions to the contrary may be found in abundance, the separate disciplines are rarely fused into an organic whole. Little interpenetration can take place so long as the premises on which economics constructs and applies its theory diverge markedly from the premises of the associated fields.

A closely linked inhibitory element is the identification of economics with the phenomena of the market. The chief values of concern to economic scientists, according to the received doctrine, are those which are registered in the market and are measured by the dimension of price. In keeping with this delimitation, economists possess complex intellectual tools for investigating the consequences of individual and governmental action on prices, production, and resource allocation. But, as the obverse of this specialization, economic analysis abstains from pushing inquiry beyond the data of the market to link up costs and prices with the social and human forces which they crystallize. Economists, therefore, seldom study all the facets of a problem which are relevant in formulating policy.

The instructor who fully accepts the customary definition of the boundaries of economics is likely to become either a split personality or a badly stifled one. In airing a controversial issue, students are mainly interested in pointing discussion toward a final question: Is it good or bad? The economist who speaks with the authority of the orthodox discipline can honestly have no answer to most such queries. If the topic is agricultural price supports, he can bring out the implications of the support policy for food prices, surpluses, and land use. However, to be consistent, he must also indicate

that the desirability of price supports can be determined only after the political and social aspects—which he is not competent to discuss—are considered along with the economic data. And beyond this, to synthesize these diverse elements into an over-all judgment requires an extraeconomic standard which neoclassical theory, as a scientifically neutral discipline, disclaims.

In practice, few economics teachers or textbooks are so rigorous. Most economists, like most other people, more or less take for granted some set of political and social objectives with which they propose to harmonize economic action. Freedom of choice, national power, personal security, greater equality, or the preservation of small business have served different teachers as the criteria for evaluating policies which contain noneconomic ingredients.¹⁹ So, within the classroom, the scope of the subject is extended beyond its theoretical limits. Nevertheless, the influence of neoclassical economics remains as an intellectual "No trespassing" sign for the instructor who would extend the range of his teaching in an unorthodox manner. For without the support of research guided by theory, explanations which involve the interaction of economic forces with other social variables must proceed on shaky logical and empirical foundations. And, since the ends assumed contain unacknowledged ethical judgments, they do not often attain the clarity or awareness of limitation which is induced by close critical scrutiny. The distinguished Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal, remarks on this point: "The perpetual game of hide-and-seek in economics consists in concealing the norm in the concept."²⁰

To restate our initial hypothesis as a conclusion, improvements in teaching technique offer only a superficial remedy for the shortcomings of the elementary economics course. The subject-matter interests and philosophical predilections of economic theory account for its direction and structure. The result is that the logic of the market is grossly overelaborated to the neglect of problems of social-economic organization and change. This special emphasis presents the main reason for the lack of vitality in introductory economics. Consequently, the rejuvenation of the principles course awaits a broadening of the perspectives of economics.

¹⁹ It is sometimes suggested that "efficiency" provides the economist's standard. But this begs the question. The concept of economic efficiency can have no content unless specific ends are agreed upon in terms of which the adequacy of the means employed can be measured.

²⁰ *The Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory*, trans. by Paul Streeten (London, 1953), 192.

Recent Tendencies in Business Ethics

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BEFORE TRACING RECENT TENDENCIES in business ethics, it might be well to begin with a definition of the major terms. "Ethics" may be defined as a code or set of rules that determines the degree of rightness of conduct involving another person or a group of persons.

That the ethics code will be used in some manner as a measuring device is inherent within the definition. The pragmatic application is at once obvious. If the results of conduct are beneficial, good, or at least innocuous, then the conduct is right, or ethical. However, the intent motivating the person conducting himself in a given manner may be measured also. If he intended the results of his conduct to be beneficial or good, then his conduct is right, or ethical. But as good results are frequently the fruit of evil intentions and complete fiascos result from the best of intentions, neither measurement can be used to the exclusion of the other. In the dynamic world of business and management, where time for meditating upon the intent of conduct completed is crowded by the necessity of deciding conduct to be undertaken, it is the results that are usually measured in determining whether conduct is ethical.

Business ethics is complex. It is not enough simply to state that man is his brother's keeper, that he must conduct himself in fairness and honor to each other man and to all men. The profit motive and the living wage indicate that there are areas of self-interest that must be considered. The increasingly widespread ownership of business capital and the rise of the management class have added new areas to human relations. The code of ethics, then, must pertain to kinds of groups as well as to kinds of persons. Management as the co-ordinating center of all interests and groups must make certain that portions of the ethics code relate to employees, to owners, to customers, and to society. Government is a device of society and may be included, along with competitors, with all persons or groups not part of the first three named.

The ethics standard does not spring full grown and complete from some one source of authority but tends to vary with time and the character of the

persons and groups concerned. Business ethics may consist of standards set by society or some other group or combination of groups outside the strict confines of business activity. These may be called "external" standards. They are recognized by management, willingly or not, and they influence conduct. Ethical standards, however, may also be determined by management or some other group or combination of groups within the strict confines of business activity. These may be called "internal" standards. Management must, of course, accept such standards before they can be considered internal ethical standards.

Discovering exactly what ethical standards are used in practice is not easy. Even if these standards are to be applied only to results, a mass of observation would be necessary to arrive at any conclusion about standards applying to ordinary person-to-person contact. The original conduct-situation would be observed, the immediate effect upon the party or parties receiving the results of the conduct would in turn be observed, then all subsequent results in the chain of cause-and-effect deriving from the conduct-situation would also be observed. This process might be shortened by sampling conduct-situations. However, the error in the sample might be so large that any conclusions or analyses would be open to grave question.

Published material might be scrutinized. This in itself would be no guarantee that the ethical standards printed or broadcast were actually those used in conduct-situations. Any acceptance should, for the cautious inquirer, be preceded by some type of observational check against conduct-situations. Published material, however, is valuable if it is written as a historical record of more or less scientifically conducted observations of ethics in practice. It is also valuable if it is in the nature of a written code or set of commandments or prohibitions which can be enforced by the regulating body so that results will closely approximate intentions.

Formal statements by members of the management group also serve as indications of ethical standards utilized by management in making day-to-day decisions in projecting plans for achieving long-range objectives. At times, these statements themselves may appear to be merely projections of ethical goals which management hopes to accomplish. Such statements, even though they may be projections, at least denote a recognition or consciousness on the part of management that certain behavior-situations are to be accepted or condoned and that others are to be avoided or censured.

It is useless to examine ethical standards that predate by any length of time the rise of the management class. Such standards no doubt influence those of today and it would not be hard to find many instances in which older standards could be applied perfectly and entirely to conduct-situations

arising at this very moment. This may not be widely true, however. The relative smallness of most trading areas and the highly personal character of nearly all business relations have long since failed to characterize business generally. We must look, therefore, to business after the advent of the factory system to determine what is happening to ethical standards. The search must, of course, be confined to instances in which there are indications that ethical standards have been determined even though it is not possible to find the actual standards. If possible, the search should be limited to instances in which it is possible to determine exactly what the standards are. Here the difficulties are legion, as has been suggested earlier. This paper does not attempt to overcome them but only to look at ethical standards in the light of more easily discovered publications and formal statements.

An examination of Herbert Spencer's essay "The Morals of Trade" gives one the impression that in the early nineteenth century, business ethics was in a sad state. He begins with the remark that he is "not about to repeat, under the above title, the often-told tale of adulterations."¹ He then goes on to say that fraudulent dealings permeate all classes of the commercial world. Bribery is habitually found in the dealings of buyers of the clothing trade; customers are cheated as often as possible; wholesale houses exploit both the retailers and the small manufacturers; manufacturers use as many deceptions as they have goods and customers; honest men are forced into dishonest practices if they wish to earn a livelihood in commerce; lastly, conscience drives men to bankruptcy. The picture is lightened somewhat by the statement that there is a large amount of honest dealing. He concludes that the appearance of a more moral public-opinion can do much to alleviate the situation. It is interesting to note that all of his instances of unethical dealings refer to those concerning either customers, suppliers, or moneylenders.

It is also useless to examine in detail the development of ethical standards during the period of so-called "*laissez faire*." Everyone is familiar with the history of the business combinations and the complete license under which they operated for a time. Everyone is also no doubt familiar with the revolt of public opinion and the early attempts to legislate standards of conduct for business.

In 1920, ethical standards were imposed on business by restrictive federal and state legislation. Such legislation covered, at least to some degree, conduct relating to each of the groups mentioned previously. Court cases reflect the trend. In 1926, the Southern Hardware Jobbers' Association was sued by the Department of Justice for an alleged price-fixing combination.² In

¹ *Essays* (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1863), 105.

² "Southern Hardware Jobbers Are Sued by the Department of Justice," *Printers' Ink*, Vol. 136 (1926), 113.

1926, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld a judgment against the Eastman Kodak Company for damages resulting to a former customer from Eastman's attempt to monopolize a market area during the 1910's.³ In 1929, Armour and Company and Swift and Company petitioned the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to allow them to own stock in other companies engaged in distributing and selling food products.⁴ Earlier, the Palmolive Company had won a suit against the Pennsylvania Soap Company in which it was charged that the latter was selling soap labeled "Palm and Olive" and packaged similarly to Palmolive soap.⁵

Action was not confined to the courts. The Union-Made Garment Manufacturers' Association authorized the expenditure of \$100,000 for advertising to combat competition from manufacturers utilizing prison labor.⁶ The American Medical Association was conducting a militant campaign against false advertising of toilet goods.⁷ Trade-mark infringement and product substitution were being answered by advertising, legal action, and constructive discussion with the erring marketer.

Questions were being raised in print about the ethical nature of false remarks made by securities salesmen. Attempts were being made to expose blue-sky promoters and promotions. The failure of foreign firms to indicate origin of goods when shipping them to the United States caused concern to those who believed the practice unethical. The propriety of advertising by accountants was being discussed.

Codes of ethics were evolving. In 1924, at its twelfth annual meeting, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States passed a resolution embodying certain principles of business conduct. These principles stemmed from the concept that the function of business is to provide for mankind's worldly needs and to increase both the natural wealth and the spiritual values of life. The high moral tone of this resolution is interesting, even if not novel, as is its emphasis upon groups of interest—capital, management, employees, and the public. In the last principle expressed, there is an appeal for self-regulation, which, except for the Depression, might have resulted in forestalling more distasteful regulations by governing bodies.

³ "Eastman Held Liable for Damages under Sherman Act," *Printers' Ink*, Vol. 138 (1927), 129.

⁴ "Packers' Court Petition Spotlights Marketing Changes," *Printers' Ink*, Vol. 148 (1929), 150.

⁵ "Palmolive's 1925 Appropriation Reaches \$4,000,000," *Printers' Ink*, Vol. 133 (1925), 10.

⁶ "\$100,000 Campaign to Combat Prison-Made Garments," *Printers' Ink*, Vol. 137 (1926), 92.

⁷ "The Fight on Crooked Advertisers of Toilet Goods," *Printers' Ink*, Vol. 138 (1927), 25.

In the same year, the National Machine Tool Builders' Association at its annual convention adopted by resolution the set of principles of the Chamber of Commerce. The association also instructed its Committee on Code of Ethics to submit such annexes as were desirable for the machine tool industry.

In 1927, the American Booksellers Association adopted a code of ethics setting forth the duty of book sellers to maintain high ideals in business and personal life and recommended that employees be placed in positions best fitting them, that promotion and dismissal be based on ability, and said that all employees in turn had an ethical duty to further the interests of the business.⁸

At this time, at least ninety-five other trade associations had adopted resolutions of general codes, trade principles, trade practices, trade customs, trade rules, aims, and pledges.

The Better Business Bureaus were active. They had been organized during the previous decade as an outgrowth of Truth in Advertising clubs. Made up of businessmen and supported by business, they sought to work for public interest in the correction of fraud and abuses of confidence. These services were free to the public. Printed exposés were made and, if necessary, legal action was brought to maintain the standards set by the bureaus.

During the next decade, government became more interested in ethical standards of business. The National Recovery Administration drew up codes of fair competition for various industries. These codes allowed a great deal of participation by federal authorities, even stating that the President of the United States might cancel or modify orders, rules, and regulations. Restrictions in employment practices were imposed. The Federal Trade Commission proposed rules for outlawing both demonstrators and the paying of "push" money in cosmetic sales.⁹ It also presented a code of fair practices to the National Automobile Dealers' Association at their annual meeting.¹⁰ The Federal Alcohol Administration urged brewers to accept necessary governmental regulation. The United Brewers' Industrial Foundation, however, adopted its own code of practice. These few instances characterize, but do not indicate the limits of, governmental regulation of ethical standards.

In 1939, Lincoln Filene, president of W. Filene's Sons Company and earlier chairman of the Committee on Unfair Trade Practices of the Business Advisory Council for the Department of Commerce, recommended voluntary self-policing by business itself of unfair or unethical practices. Exam-

⁸ Code of Ethics for American Booksellers Association, adopted by the Convention of the American Booksellers Association, New York, May, 1927.

⁹ "Resist FTC on Hidden Sales Aids," *Business Week*, March 27, 1937, p. 44 ff.

¹⁰ "Auto Industry Code," *Business Week*, May 7, 1938, pp. 28-29.

ples of such practices were unjust cancellation of orders, failure to confirm orders, the taking of discounts contrary to agreed terms, unreasonable demands for concessions after delivery had taken place, and unjust return of merchandise. He suggested the establishment of a clearing house to receive confidential reports of violations of an established code. He felt that it might be desirable to get a clear sanction from Congress before such measures were adopted.¹¹

In addition to the Brewers' code, by which members pledged themselves "to conform to laws and cooperate with the authorities, maintain the highest standards of brewing, promote moderation and sobriety, help eliminate anti-social conditions, back up law-abiding retailers, help prevent sales to minors or persons who indulged to excess, and maintain truth in advertising,"¹² codes for other industries and organizations were adopted. The Advertising Federation of America adopted a declaration of ideals and principles. There was even a statement of ethical principles for trade-association executives.

During the next decade, more codes were adopted or discussed. The Michigan Used Car Dealers' Association planned a code of ethics.¹³ The Newspaper Advertising Executives' Association added a code of practice to the ones previously adopted. The American Mining Congress issued a declaration of policy, which pledged its members to the ideal of the American system of free enterprise and equal opportunity for all and to the support of all sound measures preventing the involvement of this country in war. The declaration recommended strongly, however, that as much control as possible be left within the hands of local governing units.

Statements indicating more clearly formulated ethical standards appeared. Charles G. Mortimer, Jr., vice-president in charge of marketing for General Foods Corporation and chairman of the Advertising Council, said: "Advertising, for better or for worse, has acquired responsibility. It cannot shed it. It can no more turn back to the uninhibited, irresponsible days than can the man become a boy again."¹⁴ And Irving S. Olds, chairman of the Board of Directors of United States Steel Corporation, said:

All of these conflicting points of view [of government, employees, customers, stockholders] cannot possibly be fully met. On the contrary, the Directors, in the exercise of their composite best judgment, have to decide what course of action is best for the Corporation, all things considered. They have to bear in mind that the

¹¹ "The Question of Self-Regulation of Business," an address delivered before the Boston Conference on Distribution, October 3, 1939.

¹² "Beer Code or U. S. Permits?" *Business Week*, November 6, 1937, p. 50.

¹³ "Used Car Selling Ethics," *Business Week*, December 21, 1946, p. 48.

¹⁴ "Age of Responsibility in Advertising," *Tide*, Vol. 23 (1949), 23.

Corporation is not a creature merely of the moment but rather is a continuing enterprise of large potential importance to the nation. These determinations are an essential part of the Directors' functions and cannot be avoided simply because some particular decision may not be welcome to one or more of the groups I have mentioned.¹⁵

Labor's right to ethical consideration no longer was questioned or ignored. Consultants were employed to assist companies with their human-relations and conduct problems. Eastman Kodak Company and E. I. Du Pont de Nemours and Company had developed programs for aiding and rehabilitating alcoholic employees. The Louisiana Division of Esso Standard Oil Company drew up a labor-relations policy which recognized the right of the individual laborer as a citizen in industrial peace, the right of stockholders to fair returns, and the responsibility of management in effectively controlling business situations.

In 1950, Dr. Harold W. Stoke, then president of Louisiana State University, said:

I suggest that the first requirement for our new statesmanship is a larger-minded appreciation of the possibilities in our new wealth and economic power. There is a way of managing wealth which makes it a benefit, and there is a way of managing it which makes it a burden. . . .

As a subhead of the problems of labor, one of the most interesting challenges . . . is our effort to adjust ourselves to a new theory of wages now being born in our society . . . from a "productive theory" of wages to a "standard-of-living" theory.¹⁶

A year later, the director of research for Dun and Bradstreet, Incorporated, looked at business ethics in a broader scope:

In the economic sphere we have fashioned a system of business enterprise as one of the concomitants of a free society; and the evolution of that business enterprise system has brought with it a parallel growth of business ethics. . . . That this network is always subject to some degree of stress and strain because of unethical practices and from time to time seriously damaged through flagrant deviations from morality, no one in his senses would deny. . . . The point to emphasize, however, is that . . . we have learned that good business is dependent on morality, that honest business is good business.¹⁷

The president of the American Institute of Management wrote recently:

¹⁵ Address before the Association of Stock Exchange Firms and the Chamber of Commerce of Salt Lake City, May 27, 1949.

¹⁶ "Economic Statesmanship," an address by Harold W. Stoke, president, Louisiana State University, before the Annual Conference of Louisiana Bankers Association, January 30, 1950.

¹⁷ Ralph J. Watkins, "Business Ethics and World Conflict," *Dun's Review*, September, 1951, p. 3 ff.

We must assume that the degree of moral responsibility accepted by business or industry is directly related to the quality and actual performance of top management. If executives have a firm acceptance of the principles of social improvement, of fair trade practice, of good employee relationships, of government and public service, then it may be shown that society on the whole is more apt to operate on a high moral plane. . . .

Responsible leaders who qualify for top management today recognize the importance of this problem. Several such leaders have set down standards of performance for junior and middle executive personnel. Standards such as jury duty, civic clubs, charity campaigns, truthful company policies, philanthropy, and many others of a like nature have created in some firms a keen interest in social welfare and community wellbeing. Such firms are frequently those with a low strike record or with the wide public acclaim that goes with social acceptability.

Since added responsibility itself is not an incentive of sufficient strength to promote good moral performance, then another means must be developed to stimulate ethical behavior. Part of the answer lies in the proper selection of personnel for advancement to positions of top responsibility. If proper selection is made, with the influence of moral factors as at least one guide, then proper personnel will be available.¹⁸

From these instances of occurrences, actions, writings, and speeches, certain tendencies in business ethics are discernible. From a period in which internal ethical standards appear to have been concerned with very limited groups or few persons and in which broader ethical standards as well as business activity, ethics has evolved to a period in which internal standards appear to consider all possible groups and persons. This does not mean that there is no evidence that no group or person will be favored over all others. A casual reading of the advertisements in the daily newspapers or in the so-called "popular" magazines will show that there are still numerous instances in which the consumer can be misled. In addition, there are reports of labor troubles, embezzlements, tax evasion, and the demands for unjustified price concessions from suppliers. However, a glance at the labels of canned goods and the guarantees of electrical appliances and silver plate shows that only factual information is presented and no emotional appeal is present to sway the indecisive shopper.

Thus, business ethics appears to have moved towards increasingly higher planes. At first ethical standards appeared to apply only to conduct relating to customers, suppliers, and bankers. For some years, external standards in the form of governmental legislation and social questionings had the most ostensible influence on business conduct. Business then entered an era of self-regulation, in which various associations drew up codes of ethical conduct

¹⁸ Jackson Martindell, "The Business Executive," in *Ethics for Modern Business Practice*, ed. by J. Whitney Bunting (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953), 61 ff.

for their members. Now evidence indicates strongly that the management class is assuming responsibility for determining ethical standards. Business leaders, certainly in speeches and formal statements, seem to be aware of the necessity for protecting the interests not only of owners but of customers, employees, and society. Recently the interests of employees particularly have assumed greater significance in the ethical code, found increasingly in the form of formal statements. The perpetuation of the sense of moral responsibility is apparently being accepted more and more as a task of management and the ability to implement this task as a requisite for promotion within the managerial hierarchy.

Book Reviews

Edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

ALAN PENDLETON GRIMES: *American Political Thought*. New York, Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1955. 500 pages. \$6.00.

Instruction in the field of political theory is, like that of the rest of political science, a subject of contemporary study and controversy. One aspect of such controversy is the writing of and use of textbooks in this field for undergraduate instruction. Grimes has done an excellent job within the framework he selected for himself, but the mere fact of his having written at all suggests a position in the present discussion of political-theory courses. The alternative to the textbook is the book of selected material from particular and notable authors. One might argue that Elliott and McDonald in their *Western Political Heritage* have both written a textbook and compiled a book of readings; and they have, indeed, in the opinion of this reviewer, produced the most teachable undergraduate book in the political-theory field. Grimes includes substantial quotations, and these serve in part as a supplement to the discussion written by the author.

Assuming, then, that some sort of textbook material should be written for the use of undergraduates, and that such material will advance their understanding in the field of political philosophy,

one may mention some of the particular aspects of the book under review. It must be said, to begin with, that there is no generally accepted objectivity in the interpretation of American political experience. Indeed, every turn of intellectual history is a hotly contested point, and bias is shown as often as not in the material selected as in the material omitted. But granting judicious selection, there are still emphasis and shadings of interpretation. Few teachers of theory are fooled by the formally stated objectivities of a textbook.

The more distinctive features of Grimes's book are chapters on the rise of Protestantism, English revolutionary thought in the seventeenth century, the more than customarily elaborate treatments of James Fenimore Cooper, Brownson, Whitman, the Utopians, Henry George, and Gronlund. Properly, I think, he emphasizes the European background of American thought, though perhaps not the diversities of American religious and political experience from the very start. More debatable, perhaps, is the emphasis on the Manchestrian conception of economics rather than on the matrix in which such ideas were fitted, that is, into some aspects of American conservative thought. One may ask: Does Bellamy deserve the extended treatment he receives in Grimes's pages? And is it not true that

one can make antidemocratic thought so broad that "democracy" becomes meaningless as a term, and the respectability of antidemocratic thought assured for the future? One may praise Grimes for including communism in the forms of antidemocratic thought found in America today, but some of the people listed as antidemocratic thinkers were hardly defenders of fascism. A critic of democracy need not be a defender of Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, or Peron. Clearly, it seems to this reviewer, too much space is given to Lawrence Dennis, and Henry Adams hardly jostles well with the defenders of the Nordics.

Grimes is, no doubt, some kind of a secular liberal. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that Dewey and Holmes become high symbols of American thought and that the author seems to have little willingness to consider a great variety of positions important in the forces of politics and in prophecies for the future. His understanding of Christian social theory, for example, seems inadequate. Yet one point might be mentioned. In the Preface he says: "At the time of this writing it would appear that pragmatic liberalism, discussed in the last chapter, was being supplanted by something akin to conservatism. Conservatism, like liberalism, has a rich political heritage in America. . . ."

Francis G. Wilson
University of Illinois

SHEILA M. FERGUSON and HILDE FITZGERALD: *Studies in the Social Services*. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office and Longmans, Green & Co., 1954. 367 pages. \$5.25.

The subject matter of this book is rather surprising. Histories of wars are common, and they ordinarily cover the political, military, and occasionally the economic aspects. But rarely do they touch upon social service aspects. The book is well written and readable. It deals, in general, with the ups and downs of ordinary family-living—birth, death, illness, housing, food, aging—and with the social services available to the family during the years of the Second World War.

Social services are usually thought of as part of the luxuries of civilization—something to be curtailed when the going gets rough, as during a war. The English government, having the same idea, actually curtailed some of the existing social services when the war began. It discovered, however—at times to its sorrow or confusion—that none of the social services could be curtailed, many of them had to be expanded, and a few new ones had to be introduced. The services which the family or neighborhood could no longer provide for itself because of the war the State had to provide.

Total war tended to make nonsense of many fine administrative distinctions and to turn into national problems what had previously been matters of only local concern. Not the violence of war but its social consequences upset the calculations of the government in this field, but in the face of supreme necessity what had appeared impossible in ordinary times was achieved during the war.

Public Assistance and the Relieving Officer have a long life in English history, but many of the persons who needed help in wartime would have regarded any suggestion that they should

use the existing public institutions with horror. Army authorities agreed that soldiers whose families needed help had a quite extraordinary antipathy to Public Assistance and the Relieving Officer. This attitude created difficulties in using the existing facilities for relieving social and economic needs and made the creation of new agencies imperative.

Wartime shortages also made the government an arbiter on questions of social policy from which it had formerly stood aside and also made the Ministry of Health an advocate for the daily and intimate requirements of mothers and children. It found itself implicated in difficulties that in peacetime were surrounded by silence. This was particularly evident in the development of the maternity service and the services for unwed mothers and their children.

The National Milk Scheme, begun before the war on a limited scale, was expanded, and for the first time in English history it was possible for milk to be provided for young children according to biological requirements and not according to ability to pay. So much did this become a part of the pattern of expectation and so much a universal social service that no government would have been able to discontinue it when the war was over.

The war also hastened protection of the population against diphtheria, a measure long overdue. In the fourth year of the war, the infant mortality rate was the lowest on record, the neonatal mortality rate the lowest on record, the maternal mortality rate the lowest on record, the birth rate the highest in fifteen years, the stillbirth rate the lowest on record, and the chances of a stillbirth were only three-

quarters of what they were five years previously.

War brought what had seemed improbable but proved inevitable—a great development in the government's social policy which involved direct action by the government to meet social needs. A lively public interest in two of the most helpless classes in the community—the aged and the deprived children—began. This phenomenon had a variety of causes; besides mere idealism there was a tendency to think in terms of the family, alarm at the declining birth rate, and a much more general interest in social justice and social services. The war was a stimulus to marriage and to a greater extent to divorce, but the family, even in the face of unprecedented strains, showed unexpected cohesiveness.

As the war progressed to a close and the reconstruction of ordinary living-conditions began, the English discovered that these expanded social services, indispensable in wartime, were equally valuable in peacetime.

Mattie Cal Maxted
University of Arkansas

NEIL W. CHAMBERLAIN: *A General Theory of Economic Process*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1955. 370 pages. \$5.00.

Chamberlain, a well-known labor economist, is the distinguished author of several books in economics. His most recent volume will, therefore, command wide attention, particularly since it must be considered his most ambitious effort.

We share with the author his many misgivings about the shortcomings and

the incompleteness of economic science. We read on with heightened interest to find his solution for a more meaningful theoretical description of the economic universe. However, we meet disappointment; his answers fail to live up to the considerable expectations which the introductory chapters are likely to create.

His new theory departs from the "certainty" inherent in familiar economic models. It is built instead around broad concepts of "aspirations, bargaining power, and budget and revenue decisions." These terms, which include many relationships usually excluded from our customary terminology, take the place of "supply and demand," "competition," and "income flows."

The heart of this volume consists in its attempt to replace the concept of maximization. "Maximization is logically defensible in a static system, with each moment of time isolated from the time stream. It is logically indefensible in a system in which time runs on without providing any discrete intervals within which there is some reason for maximization."

The author raises the question as to why we cannot "phrase the problem as one of maximizing all satisfactions"; then he informs us that "the problem may indeed be formally so stated, but it is then robbed of any meaning sufficient to permit investigation." This reader finds it difficult to see where the author's vague allusions to probability theory are more meaningful than the maximization principle which he discards so vigorously.

Chamberlain's general theory is general indeed. As a matter of fact, his theory becomes so vague that it fails to serve as a guidepost to any kind of eco-

nomic knowledge. The author claims three advantages for his system: (1) It includes relationships affecting the use of scarce resources which are often omitted from equilibrium analysis. In this category the author mentions such items as taxes, social security, antitrust policies, labor legislation, etc. One may well argue that economic theory considers these problems, even though the form differs from what the author considers proper. (2) It de-emphasizes price and focuses on income flows; it is the income stream, not price, which is the theoretical nexus for economic relationships. This "advantage" will be subject to considerable challenge on the part of many economists. Both prices and incomes are of great importance for economic relationships. To generalize as to which is the more important seems of doubtful value. (3) It abandons maximization, which relies on the certainty of deductive logic used in conjunction with the concepts of a static system. It replaces maximization with the notion of a balance of culturally conditioned objectives, the material aspects of which are realizable through the income stream and the empirical reliability of which is tested by statistical probability.

One may ask, is this an advantage? Maximization may not do justice to all there is to know in economics, but what information can we possibly gain from a "balance of culturally conditioned objectives"? The author makes much of his substitution of statistical probability for maximization. However, most of the concepts he introduces are so vague as to defy testing in any form. He has made no attempt in this volume to show

how his analysis could possibly be tested statistically.

Nor is the vagueness of the author's concepts helped by the introduction of a nomenclature essentially foreign to the field of economics and taken over in large part from some other social sciences. This nomenclature may evidence the author's erudition, but it also makes the volume difficult to read.

It is hard to do justice to the many questions raised by this book in a brief review. The interested reader may want to form his own opinion on the subject, though this reviewer left the text with disappointment.

R. W. Trenton
Oklahoma A. & M. College

EDWIN A. DAVIS and WILLIAM RANSOM HOGAN (eds.): *The Barber of Natchez*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1954. 272 pages. \$4.00.

William Johnson, a freed Negro of Natchez, was a barber. He kept a diary, which was found and published by the editors in 1951. Largely on the basis of the diary, they have constructed Johnson's biography. It proves to be an absorbing tale and makes a distinct contribution to the social and economic history of the Old South. The first part of the book deals with Johnson and his career (born in 1809, liberated in 1820, and murdered in 1851); the second, with the content of the diary; and the third with an extended discussion and appraisal of his place in the Natchez community.

The authors have been at pains to do three things to ensure the success of

their work: they have created a Johnson who is well individualized; they have built up a definitely localized Natchez background; and they have zealously probed the capital source of their information—the diary itself. Starting from this document, they have accumulated independent evidence, corroborated clues, filled gaps, and so produced a copious fund of additional information. Although unsupplied with footnotes or bibliography, the study may be received with confidence as the thoughtful and entertaining biography of a plain, local life, yet one that possessed merits and an inherent interest of its own.

The former slave, himself a slaveholder, this barber who amassed property and founded a family that endures to the present, was a conservative-minded man, in social life and in politics. He rose to be the leader of the Natchez Negro community by virtue of his talents and ambitions. His early and violent death deprived his locality of the services of a useful citizen who was valued by those other citizens and leaders, the white men possessed of a full complement of the civil rights which Johnson did not himself enjoy.

The book is clearly written, well organized, and thoroughly informative. Its quality could have been enhanced, in the reviewer's opinion, by adding an explicit and properly massed discussion of the Natchez white leaders (Johnson's "opposite numbers," in a manner of speaking). The authors control these data; they give some scattered bits from them here and there. Perhaps they decided upon the omissions because they feared to unbalance the book. But as it

stands, one can be pleased and grateful that it was written.

Fulmer Mood
University of Texas

FRANCIS REITMAN: *Insanity, Art and Culture*. New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. 111 pages. \$3.75.

This compact but provocative little volume, an extension of the author's earlier study, *Psychotic Art*, is an attempt to examine from a cultural viewpoint the art products of psychotics for their diagnostic significance. In order to extricate this significance, the author presents data on psychotic art products from various cultures in addition to the Western, on art mediums of psychotics, on the art products of a true psychotic artist, on psychic art and finally on an interesting historical case-study of an eccentric, John Mytton, from the Regency period.

Even with all these data, the study, while quite interesting, does not succeed in establishing any very conclusive generalizations. Perhaps this is too much to expect, considering the paucity and inaccessibility of the data. In his attempt to assess the cultural influences in psychotics, the author starts with the hypothesis that the psychotic characteristics present in the paintings of psychotics from non-Western cultures will strengthen their symptomatic significance, whereas the differences in such paintings can be attributed to cultural influences and not alone to the diseased mind. To this end, he examines sixty-nine paintings of psychotics—twenty from the West, and forty-nine from non-Western cultures, including New

Zealand, Africa, Mexico, Egypt, India, Japan, and Ceylon.

Within these data he attempts a quantitative analysis and concludes that style and form in psychotic paintings are culturally conditioned. A statistical comparison of Western and Indian paintings with respect to form shows that the probability of the difference being due to chance is 0.0006 (thirty cases). He concludes that his quantitative study suggests the need for a qualitative evaluation of the material if its relativity to symptomatology is to be demonstrated.

The author finds no connection between psychotic characteristics and the medium of expression. Most psychotic indications seem to be absent from the other art forms, in contrast to their presence in painting. His case studies of a psychotic artist and an eccentric are interesting but add little insight into the nature of the relationship between the painting of the psychotic and either the culture or the structure of mental illness.

In his concluding chapter, Reitman points to a concern, hidden before, that through his studies he hopes either to strengthen or to annul confidence in the symptomatological data used in psychiatry. He is concerned, as are others, because psychiatrists disagree upon their value. But a study of this kind, though interesting because of its esoteric nature, seems to be a somewhat roundabout way to get at the significance of symptoms in the psychotic or as an aid in the tightening of diagnostic distinctions.

H. Warren Dunham
Wayne University

FRANK LORIMER *et al.*: *Culture and Human Fertility*. UNESCO. New York, Columbia University Press, 1954. 514 pages. \$4.50.

The major purpose of this volume is the "examination of cultural conditions affecting fertility in different non-industrial societies in the context of their social organization and cultural values—especially with respect to the organization of the family and kinship relations and, at a later stage, with respect to degrees of social mobility."

In the introductory section, Lorimer sets the stage for the remainder of Part I by reviewing some of the general theories of fertility. Pointing out that although these theories are based on substantial evidence and are at least partially valid, he states that in his judgment "none gives adequate recognition to the diversity of cultural conditions influencing fertility in different societies, with proper attention to their basic structures and major characteristics."

Drawing from many well-documented sources, the senior author traces the patterns of fertility in preindustrial Europe and America. His conclusions are based on an investigation of marital conditions, social and religious habits, population trends, and the influence of these on human fertility. After considering the evidence, he sets down five major conditions which tend to induce high human fertility and two conditions which tend to reduce it.

The remainder of the book is in four parts. These complement Lorimer's work, which comprises about one-half the total book. They are human-fertility studies in four separate areas. Three are in Africa: (1) Ashanti, by Meyer For-

tes; (2) the Gold Coast, by K. A. Busia; and (3) Buganda and Buhaya, by Audrey Richards and Priscilla Reining. The fourth, a study of the variations in the birth rate in Brazil, is authored by Giorgio Mortara and it is the most comprehensive of this group.

Mainly because of the stated broad scope of the subject matter to be covered, the specific purpose of this volume was carried out only in a tentative and exploratory way. It should also be pointed out that Notestein, in the Preface, has some reservations with respect to some of the interpretations contained in the book. Nevertheless, little question can be raised about the importance of the work, for it represents a major contribution to the general knowledge within the field of human fertility. Perhaps one of its major values is in the many hypotheses that could be pursued in further research.

An indication of the relative importance of this work is the fact that it was one of the basic documents for a meeting of the World Population Conference, held in Rome in the fall of 1954. In general, the subject matter is capably presented and, in the opinion of the reviewer, this book should be classified as a "must" among professional people who are students of human fertility.

R. L. Skrabanek
Texas A. & M. College

PAUL K. CROSSER: *The Nihilism of John Dewey*. New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. 238 pages. \$3.75.

These seem to be the days of reappraisements. Much of the new literature tends towards a devaluation of the idols

of the thirties. Roosevelt, Laski, and John Dewey have come into the purview of a new generation of critics, and reputations built during a lifetime have become measurably diminished with death. Some of this has been healthy, revealing, and enlightening criticism, cutting down to size reputations that for personality or political reasons had grown disproportionately large in the living moment of their idolization. Some of the criticism, unhappily, has been less sober, less constructive, carrying with it a sense of vindictiveness. In this reviewer's opinion, *The Nihilism of John Dewey* falls into the latter category.

Crosser attempts in this work to dethrone Dewey's entire philosophical system. While this may well be a timely and worth-while endeavor in itself, the manner in which he undertakes the task strikes one as not only objectionable but, in its total result, ineffectual.

"Dewey's philosophy," the author states in the opening sentence of his Preface, "in all its major aspects constitutes an attempt to destroy all philosophy." Now this is a proper subject for philosophical inquiry in itself; but the method of inquiry surely should not be bombast. "Dewey has made America lose its perspective and has thus greatly weakened the intellectual potential of American leadership at home and abroad." And a sentence or so beyond, Crosser unblushingly declares: "In commenting upon Dewey's reasoning, this author uncovers the utter meaninglessness of Dewey's philosophy of science, the utter emptiness of his philosophy of art and the utter sterility of his philosophy of education."

To undertake this ambitious work the

author examines in detail three of Dewey's books. Such is the detail that one feels that each of Crosser's sentences is a commentary on a parallel sentence of Dewey's. It takes Crosser 93 pages to dispose of 68 pages of *Logic, the Theory of Inquiry*; 74 pages to down 42 pages of *Art as Experience*; and 60 pages to put away 113 pages of *Experience and Education*. His method is to quote a sentence or a clause from Dewey and then attack it. Frequently he editorializes at the end of a quote with such awkward and questionable phrases as "Dewey states with regret," "Dewey notices with remorse," "Dewey recalls with nostalgia." Furthermore, whatever the merits of Crosser's philosophical position, the reader is left so bewildered by his style that the argument frequently becomes lost in the general literary confusion. For no apparent reason nearly every sentence in the book is a separate paragraph. Thus a typical page is composed of ten or twelve one-sentence paragraphs. There is no general orientation to introduce the reader to the problems to be discussed, nor a summing up of the conclusions arrived at. There is detailed analysis of clauses and phrases, but Deweyites will hardly feel that Crosser has come to grips with Dewey's essential arguments.

Much has been written on the various aspects of Dewey's philosophy, and, we may hope, the reappraisements will continue. One may further hope, however, that philosophical calm and at least a modicum of literary style will characterize future analyses.

Alan P. Grimes
Michigan State College

MARSHALL W. FISHWICK: *American Heroes: Myth and Reality*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1954. 239 pages. \$3.75.

In *American Heroes: Myth and Reality*, Fishwick, professor of American Studies at Washington and Lee University, reflects the tendency to interpret American civilization in terms of myths and symbols. Documenting the principle that "as far as heroes are concerned, the line between myth and reality is very narrow, and apt to disappear," the author considers a gallery of American heroes from Captain John Smith to the latest Hollywood cowboy. If the reader does not find his favorite, he should not condemn the author, for the very diversity of the list proves the impossibility of exhaustiveness.

Fishwick has sought to record changes in popular attitudes reflected in the minds of Americans relative to their hero concepts. His method has been to study not only the myths surrounding such figures as George Washington, Daniel Boone, Robert E. Lee, Paul Bunyan, Douglas Fairbanks, Sr., and Mickey Mouse, but also the behind-the-scenes reality of how those myths arose. The chief value of the book lies in its factual material about the myth-builders. Every American boy knows about Washington's famous hatchet, and by now many citizens must know of Parson Weems's connection with that legend. Every youngster also knows about the Ford automobile—though he may associate the "T" with football rather than with the famous industrialist—but how many parents know that Charles Sorenson, William Cameron, and Henry Bennett helped to make Henry

Ford "a major culture hero"? Incidentally, the chapter on Henry Ford is, in the opinion of this reviewer, the best in the book.

If Fishwick has succeeded in analyzing the realities behind the myths without debunking the national heroes, he has not done so well with his interpretations of the myths themselves. That shortcoming—and it is a major one—stems primarily from the failure to find a "thread that holds together the sequence of American heroes." True enough, no one thread can unite all the figures, but the Leatherstocking tradition is as nearly central a theme as our culture provides. More than once the author mentions that "adaptable American hero pattern from which Mike Fink, Kit Carson, Davy Crockett, and Daniel Boone are cut"; however, he never achieves the continuity which Henry Nash Smith, also in terms of myths and symbols, has followed so thoroughly in his *Virgin Land*. Had the author discussed his heroes in terms of types instead of chronology, he would have written a tighter book. Then, for example, he would not have sandwiched Robert E. Lee, symbol of the Lost Cause, between Daniel Boone and Billy the Kid.

Although he fails to find a central pattern, Fishwick performs a service by denouncing those who "bemoan the fate of mythology." "Mythology," he concludes, "cannot be superseded or eliminated. . . . We simply must have heroes. Hemmed in by our little horizons, we hear the hero's voice, clear and confident. He helps us to transcend our drab back yards, apartment terraces, and ten-

ements, and to repair a sense of the world's bigness."

Glen M. Rodgers
University of Texas

LELAND M. GOODRICH and ANNE P. SIMONS: *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*. Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution, 1955. 709 pages. \$6.00.

This is the first volume in a projected series of seven on the United Nations system, to be published by the Brookings Institution. It deals with those activities of the United Nations directly concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security. Regional security and collective defense arrangements, to be covered in a later volume, are here treated only incidentally. In the main, the time limits of this study are from January, 1946, through December, 1953.

This volume is divided into six parts. Part One traces the general development and operation of the United Nations system within the framework of the postwar conditions—"the bipolarity of power around the United States and the Soviet Union, the ideological conflict between them and the states associated with them, the failure to achieve the peace settlements, the development of atomic weapons, the cold war, and the rise of Asian and African nationalism." Parts Two, Three, and Four analyze, with specific references to particular issues, how the United Nations has dealt with the questions submitted to it, what procedures it has recommended for peaceful settlement and adjustment,

what measures it has taken to avert or end hostilities, what preparation it has made for collective action against aggression or threat to the peace. Part Five outlines the efforts of the United Nations to obtain international regulation of armaments.

Part Six summarizes and evaluates all of the foregoing; the "conclusions" are more in the nature of verified opinion than final judgments. The authors are agreed that the record of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security cannot be viewed with complete satisfaction or optimism. They make no suggestions, however, for improving the machinery at this point; appraisal of proposals to strengthen the organization has been left for another volume. They simply express the hope that member states, recalling the original purposes and principles of the charter, will apply "understanding, tolerance and good faith in carrying them out."

No doubt the series as a related whole will be a comprehensive guide for understanding the work of the United Nations. This volume is valuable in itself for its selection and organization of documented data on one major aspect of the system. It is not exciting writing; it is not easy reading; but, along with the other volumes promised, it should be most useful and enlightening for those concerned with revision of the charter.

Marion D. Irish
Florida State University

WILLIAM ESSLINGER: *Politics and Sci-*

ence. New York, Philosophical Library, 1955. 167 pages. \$3.00.

This book is intended to be a discussion of the application of scientific method to the practical business of politics. In addition, it provides an example of such application, coupled with an appeal that rational processes be employed internationally in the search for a lasting peace.

The book is divided into four sections, of which the last is a more or less independent essay analyzing the failure of the League of Nations and the lessons contained therein. The three sections proper are devoted to the necessity and possibility of a practical science of politics, the difficulties to be expected in founding such a science, and the immediate measures which the author believes should be taken to launch the new endeavor.

In the earlier parts, Esslinger argues that the "careful and scrupulous use of the human mind" (i.e., "sciencing") is a practice virtually absent from the political scene today. Certainly this is a contention which cannot meet with widespread disagreement. A few feelings will be bruised, however, by the corollary that the "political science" of the universities is a cloistered, undirected activity, which in its present form can do little to rectify the political situation.

The third section offers a detailed discussion of the ways in which a start can be made towards establishing the use of logic in political processes. This can best be done, says the author, by creating professional colleges of applied scientific politics in the universities and directing the graduates of these

schools into political leadership. A chapter concerning the organization of such schools is followed by discussion of the uses of history in political education and a plea for better publishing facilities in the field.

Since this book is directed primarily to members of university faculties and similar groups, it will not suffer badly from the fact that it is not an easy book at the popular level. One could wish, however, that the essay on the League might be popularized, for the case for world government is well presented.

Many workers in the physical sciences may differ, as this reviewer does, with the free definition of the word "science" as merely the application of rational processes. Few readers, however, can fail to be impressed with the author's courage in tackling such a difficult subject and his successful demonstration of the methods he advocates. The book may make a contribution in a field which holds compelling importance to everyone alive.

Russ Hardwick
Stanford University

LYLE SAUNDERS: *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-speaking People of the Southwest*. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1954. 317 pages. \$4.50.

The particular problems of the Spanish-speaking people of the southwestern United States in relation to their health situation and how to deal with the situation have been thoroughly examined and evaluated by the author. He presents a detailed study of the cultural background of the three main groups of

Latin Americans—the Spanish-Americans of the Rio Grande Valley, Mexican-Americans, and Mexicans who are recent immigrants. He gives a theoretical situation which might be found in a Latin-American boardinghouse in a typical southwestern city, describing in detail the problems of its occupants from a medical, social, and economic standpoint. His analysis of this national group, sometimes called the "Mexican race," and his explanations of the cultural chasm which exists between Latin Americans and Anglo-Americans present problems clearly and scientifically and with sympathy and understanding. His concluding chapters deal with methods that have been attempted to "bridge the gap," and an evaluation of them, together with possible solutions for the future.

To the serious student of the social sciences, as well as to the practicing physician, the value of this book lies chiefly in the chapter entitled "The Cultural Chasm." The author demonstrates here his profound knowledge and understanding of Latin-American people, their cultural and subcultural concepts, and their very real perplexities when confronted by Anglo culture, beliefs, values, and goals.

Latin Americans are a people who live in the present or the immediate past, in a time pattern which is seasonal rather than diurnal, who fear change and venerate age, who work only for the immediate needs of each day, who are resigned to the changes and chances of this life, and who respect an individual for what he is rather than for what he does. Hence, their close proximity to a much larger and more powerful people, people with the opposite

motivations of living and planning for future material rewards, who are determined to fill each minute of each day with activity, who believe in the inevitable goodness and rightness of progress, whose work life is a constant striving towards success and material advancement, whose cultural heroes are Horatio Alger and Abraham Lincoln and who designate each other by trade or profession—all this creates a situation fraught with misunderstanding, hostility, and mutual contempt. The author believes that a physician in such a cross-cultural situation can be useful and effective only if he is willing to begin with the situation as he finds it, study it with sympathy, use what he can of the unfamiliar culture, modify his own rigid standards in order to produce the best results for the patient, and show the patient that he is personally concerned. Formal training in the social sciences is recommended, but it is not a panacea. The vision of man as an individual, biological, and social being—the total man—as well as a patient, is essential. The goal is the establishment of "mutually satisfying social relationships," and the only factor which might be added to the very comprehensive methods the author recommends to achieve this end is *caritas*, the true charity, which is love.

Mildred Kemper Terrill
McKinney, Texas

ALFRED G. MEYER: *Marxism: The Unity of Theory and Practice*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954. 181 pages. \$3.50.

This work is an attempt to critically evaluate the over-all character of Karl

Marx's system of thought and to show how ultimately it sought to create a unity of theory and practice. The author maintains that Marx and Engels interwove into the fabric of Marxism three elements: the element of science, i.e., exactness and verifiability; the element of radical criticism of existing society, i.e., revolutionary activism; and lastly the element of progress, i.e., dialectical humanitarianism. The unity in theory and practice of these three elements was assumed by Marx but, as the author shows, ultimately broke down as a result of their internal incompatibility and the contradictions arising between them and empirical reality. The disintegration of the Marxian movement after 1848 is evidential of this bankruptcy. The author is careful, however, to point out that the failure of Marxism to realize its ideals does not detract from the significance of the movement as one of the great intellectual achievements of the nineteenth century nor from its continuing influence and manifestation in diverse forms at the present time.

The worth of the book lies in its unprejudiced evaluation of the Marxist doctrine in the light of its internal rationale and its place in history. We have only recently escaped from the "illusion of the proximate" and reached a stage at which we can begin to dispassionately evaluate the contribution of Marx. This the author has done, and done well. What is called "Marxism" today is quite different from what Marx and Engels meant or hoped for by the term, and it is well that their position be now set in its proper historic perspective. In pursuit of this aim the author has avoided discussion of the strategic and tactical aspects of Marx's doctrine, as

well as any evaluation of his solutions to specific problems, such as the role of the peasant in the development of socialism. Short in compass, clearly written, the book should prove of value to the beginner and to the advanced student of Marxism, both of whom should find in it much food for thought.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
University of Texas

H. B. MAYO, with a foreword by WALTER BEDELL SMITH: *Democracy and Marxism*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1955. 364 pages. \$4.00.

This book has a practical value in the present ideological conflict between democracy and communism. The author has happily combined two genres by producing a book which is at the same time a scholarly dissertation on Marxism and a political pamphlet obviously written with an eye on the ideological struggle against communism. He has analyzed the various aspects of the original Marxist doctrine and of its Soviet version (the dialectical materialism, the economic interpretation of history, the class struggle, the concepts of the Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist party, etc.), has contrasted it with his own interesting interpretation of democracy, and has finally given his answer to the perturbing question of the compatibility of communism with democracy, either within the national life of the Western countries or within the framework of Western-Soviet international relations. His critical evaluation of Marxism, including its Soviet interpretation, is not very original, but it has the great merit

of compiling the arguments previously advanced by other people within one compact volume, written with impeccable clarity.

The book will help to clarify college students' ideas on this urgent issue and can be used to advantage in courses which have a direct bearing on the civic training of young people. It will do much towards destroying the myth of the scientific infallibility of Karl Marx, an infallibility which is the cornerstone of Communist doctrine. The author is right in stressing that Marx was first of all a zealous reformer, whose main inspiration was his keen feeling of social justice, whereas his doctrine was an ex-post-facto rationalization of that feeling. With its penetrating analysis of the scientific fallacies of the Marxist doctrine, the book will carry weight with a reader who is attracted by the sentimental appeal of Marxism but who is still amenable to rational arguments. It may fail to convince a true Communist, for, as Mayo observes, Communists have a quasi-religious faith in the infallibility of Marxism and have usually closed their minds to rational scepticism. Communists might be more responsive to arguments which point to the wide discrepancy between the original Marxism and the actual practice of the Marxist Church, the Soviet State. This aspect of the question is not sufficiently elaborated in Mayo's book.

On the last pages of his book, the author mentions a problem more urgent than that of the Communist threat in the Western democracies that do not seem to be in immediate danger of being subverted by Marxism. These democracies face the peril of losing the struggle for the souls of that majority

of mankind who live in the underdeveloped areas. Mayo sees this problem not in the form of learned discussions about the merits and demerits of the Marxist doctrine but in that of providing an adequate Western answer to the Soviet challenge of a quick economic transformation by totalitarian methods. The Soviet formula for industrialization is tempting indeed for countries without any democratic tradition.

The bibliography is rather incomplete, and the author's accompanying comments are heavily weighted in favor of books published in England. It is hard, for instance, to understand the reason for his omitting from the bibliography Merle Fainsod's brilliant book *How Russia Is Ruled*, though this book appeared two years before the publication of Mayo's own work.

W. W. Kulski
Syracuse University

JEAN R. PEARMAN and ALBERT H. BURROWS: *Social Services in the School*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1955. 211 pages. \$3.75.

Pearman and Burrows have made a unique and much-needed contribution to the literature by providing a reference text concerning social work in the school. They have written a concise, readable, well-documented volume which will be of inestimable value to those "concerned with adjustment problems of young people," and, indirectly, to young people themselves. Their contribution is particularly timely, not only

because of increasing interest in the need for social services in the schools, but also because of the paucity of printed material in that area.

The authors have a knowledge of the many problems and the sometimes delicate situations which confront the school social-worker. In the chapter entitled "Working with Administrators and Teachers," the section concerning adjustment to prevailing educational philosophy presents a realistic picture of actual working conditions. The sections on orientation and relations with others (in the same chapter) are very well developed. A more detailed discussion of how to activate a school social-work program would have been helpful in view of the increasing number of persons interested in establishing such a program.

The first three chapters present an overview of school social-work, the qualification, and certification requirements of the school social-worker, and a brief though sound discussion of social-work principles in general. The section devoted to the conflicting theories of casework practice may be too technical for certain readers.

The chapters "Special Tools and Techniques" and "Helping the Troubled Child" are exceptionally well done. The individual already working in the field of school social-work will find them interesting and helpful. Case summaries are well chosen throughout the entire volume.

The problems of delinquency, sex, alcoholism, and drug addiction are discussed from the multidiscipline approach. The presentation of the problems of delinquency is perhaps too lengthy and involved in proportion to

the discussion of other problems. The inclusion of a chapter regarding child guidance is appropriate in that it demonstrates the helpfulness of the clinic in aggravated situations and the manner in which the school social-worker fits into the working team.

The closing chapter presents a challenge to educators, to social workers, and to society at large to provide facilities and services needed by children to make a satisfactory personal adjustment. The responsibility of the trained school social-worker is to help children cope with problems which are interfering with their education and personal integration. The authors point up the distinctive functions of the school and of social work, in addition to defining common goals which may be achieved through co-operative efforts.

Isabel W. Cromack
Austin Public Schools

ALFRED G. STEER, JR.: *Goethe's Social Philosophy As Revealed in "Campagne in Frankreich" and "Belagerung von Mainz."* University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures No. 15. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955. 178 pages. \$5.00.

The author of this book has selected for his subject matter two of Goethe's autobiographical studies depicting the time of the revolutionary period of the early 1790's, but written some thirty years later in loose diary form in the comfortable ease of old age. One would

think that the turbulent events alone and Goethe's relation to them would make Goethe's writing informative and stimulating reading. But it has been long established that Goethe manipulated his material, consciously or not, to such a degree that we can hardly consider the two diaries as reliable historical source material. Since Steer can not claim historical significance for these documents, he evaluates them as a conscious artistic structure erected to manifest a central moral ideal: the eternal ideal of *Familie* and *Volksheit* in contrast with the negative forces of revolution, war, and internationalism.

He believes that in order to understand this "unappreciated masterpiece," "the *Campagne* must be read almost as if it were a cryptogram penetrating the seemingly innocuous and carefully contrived surface to lay bare the fundamental substratum of primary significance." Goethe so well succeeded in mystifying his readers that Goethe scholars of the last 130 years never noticed the cryptic nature of the diaries. Goethe is depicted as criticizing—though in a very carefully veiled form—the high command of the allied forces, as admiring the French as *Volk*, though condemning their revolutionary ideas, as castigating the unrealistic, haughty spirit of the French *émigrés* who betrayed their *Volksheit*, and last but not least as portraying his own relationship with his mistress, Christiane Vulpius, as the ideal of family life. However, Steer simply ignores the passages referring to the high spirit among the allies or to the fact that that side was well led. A line from the *Paralipomena* is grossly misinterpreted. The line reads: "*Der Krieg war diesseits geschlossen*," and un-

doubtedly means that in contrast to the disunited French command the campaign on the allies' side was conducted in harmony. Steer interprets it to mean that the Prussians decided to enter the war only after the French had shown weakness. To be sure, in this instance Steer was misled by a faulty emendation of the *Weimar Ausgabe*. The term "*Volksheit*"—never used in these diaries by Goethe—is repeated over and over again by Steer.

The end effect of Steer's "penetrating the . . . innocuous . . . surface" is not a pleasant one. Far from turning Goethe's loosely written diaries into a "masterpiece," Steer converts them into a single pedantic, didactic pamphlet preaching the complacent ideals of an old-fashioned German university professor.

Wolfgang F. Michael
University of Texas

CRANE BRINTON, JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER, ROBERT LEE WOLFF: *A History of Civilization*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. Vol. I, "Prehistory to 1715." 686 pages. Vol. II, "1715 to the Present." 722 pages. \$16.00 the set.

STEWART C. EASTON: *The Heritage of the Past*. New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1955. 795 pages. \$6.00.

RICHARD M. BRACE: *The Making of the Modern World*. New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1955. 899 pages. \$6.00.

These additions to the text literature on "general" education courses in the history of Western civilization will be

most welcome by the often bewildered and not infrequently annoyed instructors in that field. The recent hegemony of Wallbank and Taylor will be challenged, even with their excellent 1955 revision. Despite the misleading title of the Brinton *et al.* effort, both series are evaluations of Western civilization, leaving the history of the Far East out except where it contacted or influenced that of the European West. Teachers of *civilization* courses are thus left—as usual—high and dry so far as an inclusive view of civilization is concerned.

The Easton-Brace volumes are rather traditional but highly readable presentations. From the tremendous mass of facts necessarily given, there emerges a rather surprising sophistication, which should appeal to a certain breed of student, though he is not to be found in all the classrooms of all institutions of higher learning in the land. An adroit handling of provocative parallels is always admirable, but it sometimes flies over the heads of earth-bound freshmen. The Brace volume does not bog down as badly as do most attempts to bring order out of the 1917–50 period. Handsomely mounted, beautifully illustrated, this solid effort is a highly welcome addition to adoption lists.

Brinton's hand—or at least influence—is quite clear in the two-volume offering. Heavy emphasis has been placed on intellectual developments, and the instructor glib at "filling" would enjoy teaching these books. Perhaps unnecessarily brief in the handling of prehistory as well as with other minor shortcomings, this *History of Civilization* (that annoying mistitle again) has a terrific over-all impact on

straight-through reading. As noted, teaching it would be another matter.

Brinton's orientation takes his series ever so slightly out of the tradition of such presentations. If not adopted for classwork, it should—and no doubt will—appear on library shelves for additional reading.

Both series are to be commended for their excellent reading-suggestions at the end of each chapter. Both make brief comments on the suggested works, and Brinton has faced up to recent reading habits and added a select list of historical fiction. Neither work is overlaid with gimmicks—chronological tables, etc.—and both make sensible use of correlated maps.

Although instructors in this delightful and confused field will never be satisfied with any text, here are two series to weep over when the head of the department begins to frown over delayed adoptions next spring.

O. A. Grant
Tarleton State College

*The Behavioral Sciences at Harvard:
Report by a Faculty Committee.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954. 518 pages.

The term "behavioral sciences" is used by this committee in this report as an inclusive category to define the area of its inquiry. Included are the fields of anthropology, economics, government, history, psychology, and sociology, with their applications in business, education, law, medicine, public health, and social work. The committee notes the difficulties involved in defining the

term but frankly offers no brief for the wisdom of its arbitrary and self-imposed limitations of scope other than that of practical necessity. The new term began to be prominent in Harvard documents, according to the *Report*, during 1953-54. A reorganization of course offerings in the Graduate School of Education created the "behavioral sciences" as a prominent rubric, and reports of the Graduate School of Business alluded to the present and planned developments in the "behavioral sciences." If the influence of this report is as widespread as that of an earlier report of another Harvard faculty committee, published in 1945 under the title *General Education in a Free Society*, the new term "behavioral sciences" will become as much a part of the vocabulary relating to education as the term "general education" has in the past decade.

The data used as a basis of the report, aside from some official statistics and facts derived from published and unpublished documents, were secured mainly from a body of systematic interviews with members of Harvard's faculty in the behavioral sciences. The sources of the data and the methodology employed are described in some detail in an introductory chapter.

The *Report* is organized into seven parts and an appendix, which is the independent evaluation of the visiting committee. The first three parts are principally descriptive and historical: (1) history and organization of the behavioral sciences at Harvard; (2) the values and objectives of those who teach and do research there; (3) the research in behavioral sciences now in progress. The next three parts are both

factual and analytical, with three sets of problems described and analyzed: (1) problems of personnel recruitment, of morale engendered by "lone wolf" and team research, and of support and sponsorship for research; (2) problems in graduate instruction, particularly from the point of view of the students; (3) special problems of the behavioral sciences in the professional schools. Part VII presents the recommendations emerging from the analyses of these problems.

The committee states that the *Report*, financed by a Ford Foundation grant, has been prepared with three groups in mind: (1) the Harvard community itself—the faculty in the behavioral sciences, colleagues in other fields, and the University administration; (2) the academic profession outside Harvard, especially in the behavioral sciences; (3) those to whom Harvard looks for financial support, including the foundations, Harvard alumni, and other individuals and institutions "with vision to see values to mankind in what the behavioral sciences are doing."

Virginia B. Sloan

New Mexico Highlands University

CLAIR WILCOX: *Public Policies Toward Business*. Chicago, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 898 pages. \$6.50.

Wilcox has written a book that will please those who have made a fetish of competition as the most efficient regulator of economic activity and of ensuring consumer well-being. He maintains that neither the "technological imperative" nor the vast array of data to the

effect that business units have often been able to avoid decisions in antitrust cases is sufficient grounds for abolishing the antitrust approach in favor of government regulation or ownership of business enterprise as a general economic policy.

An especially needed service is performed when the author amplifies the thesis that "the behavior of business inescapably affects the general welfare; it is properly a matter of public concern"; he points out that "if government is interfering with business, it is largely because business has invited it to interfere." This same section also contains a most adequate presentation of the complicated topics of the sources and methods of social control of industry. Wilcox points up the too-little-emphasized fact in American economic history that it was only from the mid-1880's until the mid-1930's—a period of fifty years—that the Supreme Court made of the Constitution "an instrument with which to impose upon the country the philosophy of *laissez faire*."

The preponderance of emphasis in this book, both descriptive and analytical, is devoted to an explanation of the use of government antitrust-policy in an attempt to achieve economic order indirectly by fostering "workable competition." With rare skill and thoroughness the author shows the tremendous task of antitrust in breaking up monopoly in the face of the intricate methods used by business in order to maintain it; the inconsistency of court decisions in cases instituted under the Sherman, Clayton, and Trade Commission Acts; and the various government-approved departures from antitrust.

Following the consideration of antitrust as a method of "forced competition" is a shorter and traditional consideration of problems in utility regulation as an alternative policy. A very creditable piece of work is done in exploiting the causes of the growth of government-owned enterprises in the United States, with a concise description of the outstanding examples of such enterprises (including atomic energy development), plus a consideration of the alternative merits of government ownership with private operation and government ownership with government operation.

The concluding section of the book, interpretative in nature, may be more subject to question, since it is based on several assumptions (presented as facts) which have long been questioned by many economists. Among these suppositions is the one (notable in the "new orthodoxy") that while monopoly made rapid headway in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it has not continued to do so during the twentieth, and in fact, the American economy is more competitive than ever before. Another assumption is that only a market economy—not a planned one—can ensure consumer freedom of choice and the "proper" allocation of resources. This thesis automatically assumes a relatively equal distribution of income so that the desires of all citizens can be made effective through dollar votes—a situation that does not exist in fact. And finally, the assertion that only a free market economy can achieve a high level of output was disproved by United States wartime experience alone.

In spite of conclusions which serve

only to perpetuate the myths of economic liberalism, Wilcox's book is a most readable and up-to-date source of information on the evolution of government-business relations. It should be especially helpful to students because of briefly annotated reading suggestions at the end of each chapter and a useful index of cases at the end of the volume.

Joe C. Ashby

Lamar State College of Technology

RUPERT B. VANCE and NICHOLAS J. DEMERATH (eds.): *The Urban South*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954. 307 pages. \$5.00.

This book is itself a reflection of the increased tempo of industrial urbanization in the South during recent decades, especially after the Second World War. In a series of essays the editors have sought to portray some of the broader aspects of this development. As they note, the articles converge about three main topics: the urbanization process, the organizational structure of Southern cities, and social change and the impact of urbanism on tradition. Here are a few examples: R. Heberle, "The Main-springs of Southern Urbanization"; L. Thompson, "Urbanization, Occupational Shift and Economic Progress"; R. Vance and S. Smith, "Metropolitan Dominance and Integration"; H. Kaufman, "Social Class in the Urban South"; N. Demerath and H. Gilmore, "The Ecology of Southern Cities"; and C. Ewing and J. Titus, "Urbanism and Southern Politics." Although other edi-

tors' tastes might have been different, the topics covered have been chosen rather judiciously.

The appearance of the book is timely for a number of reasons. It points up some of the urban-community research which has been conducted in the South. Just as important, it indirectly suggests the need for additional work in this area. The book is of special worth to social scientists in that it brings together in a single volume much empirical data on Southern cities. The studies containing statistical material on the growth of cities, migration, political behavior, etc., should be valuable to all who are concerned with problems of American urban life, whether on a regional or national level.

On the whole, this book does not appear to advance any new theoretical or methodological approach which has not been presented elsewhere. There are exceptions: the index of metropolitan dominance set forth by Vance and Smith seems to be an innovation which may prove to be quite fruitful. However, the various studies should perhaps have given more attention to the national forces impinging upon Southern urban communities and the South's new relationships to the total society which stem from industrial urbanization. But whatever the minor limitations of this book (and these will vary with each reader's interests), students of urbanization definitely should consult it. It will make fine supplementary reading in a number of college courses. And undoubtedly it will give a real boost to urban studies in the South.

Gideon Sjöberg
University of Texas

SARKIS ATAMIAN: *The Armenian Community*. New York, Philosophical Library, 1955. 479 pages. \$4.75.

Considering the fact that most students of minorities problems steer away from the political aspects of the less assimilated foreign-born Americans—since a majority of the leaders of the more aggressive groups more than welcome a chance to promote their cause by arguing with anybody exposed in any way to their arguments—we must take our hat off to the author who has so courageously analyzed one of the political firecrackers. The Armenians, one of the most severely persecuted groups of recent times, developed fairly late a national consciousness under the oppressive regimes of Russia and Turkey. The subsequent revolutionary movement, aimed at political and national emancipation from both ruling powers, culminated in the Independent Armenian Republic of the First World War, which was soon subjugated by the Soviet regime. But the revolutionary ideology of the Armenians has been agitating the Armenians in the United States to a marked extent, generally around the question of whether Americanization was the answer, or whether a *modus vivendi* should be sought with Soviet Russia. These crosscurrents have been complicated by the political intrigues besetting the Armenian Apostolic Church.

The author has provided numerous pertinent details to this exciting story and tells it well. Academically, his is one of the best of the studies of the political implications that the theory of cultural pluralism is always confronted with. But the reviewer feels sorry, in a way, for the author, who, if the pre-

vious pattern repeats itself, will be torn apart by the various factions, threatened, and probably sued.

Joseph S. Roucek
University of Bridgeport

HENRY GRAYSON: *The Crisis of the Middle Class*. New York, Rinehart & Company, 1955. 172 pages. \$2.75.

Grayson endeavors to do several several things in the short compass of this book. First he sets up a theory of cultural development à la Toynbee, then introduces the middle class as the dynamic which induces social growth, and lastly interlards his narrative with copious references to economic theory, with particular reference to the concepts of secular stagnation and monetary flow.

For the author, society evolves through the stages of the primitive community, the appearance of ruler-slave states, feudalism, and the age of tyrants and culminates in the emergence of a democratically orientated middle class, which in turn becomes static and totalitarian, thus leading to its eventual cultural decay and collapse. The period of middle-class domination is thus viewed as the highest and most creative period in the evolution of society. The conditions under which the middle class can evolve and perform its function exists when the society is characterized by a stable government, religious and political toleration, exclusion of warfare from the home country, adequate and stable monetary media, developed transportation facilities, and a democratic tradition conducive to individualism.

The net result of all this labor is disappointing. The author has really introduced nothing new in his analysis and has rehashed a good number of the stock-in-trade theories of the historians and theorists of cultural evolution. Owing to the shortness of the work, a great deal of material is summarized in sketchy fashion and does not provide a foundation sufficiently strong to support the author's conclusions. There are occasional flashes of insight which relieve the otherwise drab monotony of the work. Had some of these been developed at greater length Grayson would have produced a more valuable work. The book is also badly balanced in the emphasis which it places now on economic analysis, now on historical narrative, now on sociological theory. It is difficult to understand what purpose it is supposed to achieve; certainly it is not intended for text use. It lacks the profundity requisite for the launching of a new departure in the analysis of the role of the middle class, and hence one is forced to the reluctant conclusion that it is intended to console those who see in the traditional middle class the salt of the earth and to warn them that unless Western Europe "unites voluntarily into a strong military and governmental unit" the future of our culture and civilization is dim indeed.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
University of Texas

WINSTON W. CROUCH *et al.*: *Metropolitan Los Angeles: A Study in Integration. XIV. Finances and Taxation.* Los Angeles, Haynes Foundation, 1954. 150 pages. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$2.25.

WINSTON W. CROUCH: *Metropolitan Los Angeles: A Study in Integration. XV. Intergovernmental Relations.* Los Angeles, Haynes Foundation, 1954. 160 pages. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$2.25.

These two volumes represent the latest of the studies prepared by the Haynes Foundation concerning the Los Angeles metropolitan area. One further volume will complete this comprehensive survey, which has extended over several years and involved many agencies and individuals. Study No. XIV is concerned in Part I with revenues, debts, and budgets, and in Part II with assessment and collection of property taxes. The latter section is concluded with a discussion of functional consolidation, in which it is noted that intergovernmental co-operation in assessment and collection of taxes, while not complete, is both extensive and successful. Study No. XV is an excellent survey of the complex and varied intergovernmental relationships that have developed in the Los Angeles area and should interest those concerned with this aspect of our governmental system.

Wilfred D. Webb
University of Texas

Other Books Received

December, 1955

- Abram, Henry J.: *Compulsory Voting*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1955. 38 pages. \$1.00.
- Ader, Emile B.: *The Dixiecrat Movement: Its Role in Third Party Politics*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, Annals of American Government, 1955. 24 pages. \$1.00.
- Bellot, H. Hale: *Woodrow Wilson*. New York, John de Graff, Inc., 1955. 22 pages. \$.50.
- Burns, Arthur Robert: *Comparative Economic Organization*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 766 pages.
- Cottrell, Edwin A. and Helen L. Jones: *The Metropolis: Is Integration Possible? Metropolitan Los Angeles, A Study in Integration*. No. XVI. Los Angeles, Haynes Foundation, 1955. 116 pages. \$2.50.
- Davidson, Henry A.: *Handbook of Parliamentary Procedure*. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1955. 292 pages. \$3.75.
- De Bie, Pierre, Claude Levi-Strauss, Joseph Nuttin, and Eugene Jacobson (reports prepared by): *The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Sociology, Social Psychology, and Anthropology*. Paris, UNESCO, 1954. 252 pages. \$1.75.
- Dubalen, Marie Therese: *The Worker Priests*. SLID Research Tracts No. 3. New York, Student League for Industrial Democracy, 1955. 60 pages. \$.25.
- Eban, Abba: *The Toynbee Heresy* (address delivered at the Israel Institute, Yeshiva University in New York). New York, Israel Office of Information, 1955. 22 pages.
- Eisenmann, Charles (report prepared by): *The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Law*. Paris, UNESCO, 1954. 133 pages. \$1.00.
- Farrell, B. A. (ed.): *Experimental Psychology: A Series of Broadcast Talks on Recent Research* (talks by A. J. Watson, Harry Kay, J. A. Deutsch, B. A. Farrell, Michael Argyle, and R. C. Oldfield). New York, Philosophical Library, 1955. 66 pages. \$2.75.
- Frank, Joseph: *The Levellers: A History of the Writings of Three Seventeenth-Century Social Democrats: John Lilburne, Richard Overton, William Walwyn*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1955. 345 pages. \$5.00.
- Gosnell, Cullen B., Lane W. Lancaster, Robert S. Rankin: *Fundamentals of American National Government*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 490 pages. \$5.00.
- Guillebaud, C. W., R. Clemens, Wahib Messiha, James E. Messiha, F. Lutge, E. Preiser, C. N. Vakil, C. Arena, A. Kozlik, T. Palander, H. Taylor, R. Uvalic, and G. Tintner (based on reports by): *The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Economics*. Paris, UNESCO, 1954. 300 pages. \$2.00.
- Hoyles, Arthur J.: *Religion in Prison*. New York, Philosophical Library, 1955. 146 pages. \$3.50.

International Political Science Abstracts.

Vol. IV, No. 3 (abstracts of articles published from April to June, 1954). Paris, UNESCO, 1954. 523 pages. \$1.00.

International Political Science Association (Jean Meynaud, ed.) and the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation (Jean Meyriat, asso. ed.): *International Bibliography of Political Science*. Vol. II. Paris, UNESCO, 1952 and 1953. 279 pages.

Jenkin, Thomas P.: *The Study of Political Theory*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science, 1955. 99 pages. \$.95.

Johnson, Claudius O.: *American Government: National, State, and Local*. 2d ed. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955. 1004 pages. \$6.50.

Johnson, Claudius O.: *American National Government*. 4th ed. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955. 750 pages. \$5.75.

Kenworthy, Leonard S.: *Free and Inexpensive Materials on World Affairs*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1954. 94 pages. \$1.25.

Krooss, Herman E.: *American Economic Development*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 536 pages. \$6.00.

Kruschke, Earl Roger: *The Woman Voter: An Analysis Based Upon Personal Interviews*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, Annals of American Government, 1955. 16 pages. \$1.00.

Larsen, J. A. O.: *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1955. 249 pages. \$4.00.

Levitt, Theodore: *The Twilight of the Profit Motive*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, Annals of American Economics, 1955. 15 pages. \$1.00.

Lewack, Harold: *The Quiet Revolution: A Study of the Antagonistic Movement*. New York, Student League for Industrial Democracy, 1955. 57 pages.

Maccoby, S.: *English Radicalism, 1762-1785: The Origins*. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1955. 534 pages. \$10.25.

McDonald, James T.: *State Finance: Revenues of the State of Kansas, 1915-1953*. Lawrence, Kansas, Governmental Research Center, Fiscal Information Series, No. 4, 1955. 39 pages.

McLarney, William J.: *Management Training: Cases and Principles*. Rev. ed. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 371 pages. \$5.50.

Nelson, Lowry: *Rural Sociology*. 2d ed. New York, American Book Company, 1955. 568 pages. \$5.75.

Pilcher, Don M.: *Children in Our Courts*. Citizen's Pamphlet Series No. 17. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1955. 27 pages.

- Proceedings of the First Governmental Accounting and Finance Institute.* Austin, Texas, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1955. 146 pages.
- Shultz, George P. and George B. Baldwin: *Automation: A New Dimension to Old Problems.* Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, Annals of American Economics, 1955. 20 pages. \$1.00.
- Smith, C. Aubrey and Jim G. Ashburne: *Financial and Administrative Accounting.* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 493 pages. \$7.00.
- Smith, Henry Clay: *Psychology of Industrial Behavior.* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 477 pages. \$6.00.
- Study on Expulsion of Immigrants.* New York, United Nations, 1955. 77 pages. \$.50.
- Wilson, Woodrow, with an Introduction by Ralph Purcell: *The Study of Public Administration.* Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, Annals of American Government, 1955. 23 pages. \$1.00.

News and Notes

General

In connection with its newly established master's-degree program, the Department of Economics, University of Wichita, has assisted in the creation of an interdisciplinary seminar in social science research. The seminar is designed to introduce beginning graduate students, enrolled in the participating departments, to the philosophy, methods, and problems of research in the social sciences.

Accounting

JAMES N. BYERS has been appointed instructor in accounting, Texas A. and M. College. He received an M.B.A. degree in accounting from Texas Technological College in August, 1955.

EDWARD S. PACKENHAM has been appointed associate professor of accounting, Texas A. and M. College. Mr. Packenham, a certified public accountant, formerly taught at Texas A. and M. and returns from a position in public accounting with P. C. Fewell, C.P.A. in Dallas.

Business Administration

The 1956 Conference on High-Speed Computers will be held at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, from February 15 through February 17, 1956. This conference is open to businessmen, office managers, accountants, engineers, chemists, physicists, economists, statisticians and other potential users from all sections of the

country. Topics scheduled for discussion by nationally recognized speakers include office procedures, statistical operations, and numerical methods designed for the adaptation of problems to machine-solution. Several manufacturers of computing equipment will be represented through exhibits or demonstrations of computers in operation. Inquiries concerning the conference may be directed to DR. J. W. BROUILLETTE, director, General Extension Division, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge 3, Louisiana.

FREDERICK BASCO has been promoted to assistant professor of business education, Arkansas State Teachers College.

JAMES HALL DOZIER has been appointed instructor in business law, Texas A. and M. College. A graduate of the University of Texas School of Law, he has recently been in private practice.

H. G. KENAGY has been appointed acting associate professor of business administration, Texas A. and M. College. Mr. Kenagy was formerly assistant to the president and adjunct professor, Dickinson College, and vice-president in charge of public relations, Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company.

WILLIAM KORBEL, formerly assistant professor of marketing in the School of Business, University of Kansas, has joined the Marketing Research Division of Telechron Company.

DAN COPELAND LOWE has been appointed instructor in marketing, Texas

A. and M. College. He holds an M.Ed. degree from Stephen F. Austin State College and was formerly affiliated with Allen Military Academy.

FRANK PINET has been promoted to assistant professor, School of Business, University of Kansas.

LEO POLAND has returned to the School of Business, University of Kansas, after a leave of absence.

BERTRUM TRILLICH has been appointed assistant professor of marketing, School of Business, University of Kansas. He has an M.B.A. from Harvard and is completing a Ph.D. at Ohio State. He comes from Texas Christian University.

Economics

FREDERICK T. DOWNS has been appointed assistant professor of economics, New Mexico A. and M. College. He is completing work for a Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin.

SVEND O. HERMANSEN has been appointed associate professor of economics at the University of Wichita. Dr. Hermansen has been a lecturer in economics at Northwestern University, where he recently received a Ph.D. degree. He also holds graduate degrees in law and in economics from a university in Denmark. He formerly taught at the University of Utah.

JOHN ISE has retired from the Department of Economics, University of Kansas, after thirty-eight years of teaching. He will teach at Goucher College for the academic year 1955-56.

JOHN B. KOCH, formerly of the University of Arkansas, has been appointed

assistant professor of economics and sociology, Arkansas State Teachers College.

Geography

DONALD D. BRAND, professor of geography, University of Texas, together with PABLO GUSMAN-RIVAS and ALFONSO GONZALES-PEREZ, graduate assistants, is engaged in campus and field research in the geography of coastal Michoacán, Mexico, under an Office-of-Naval-Research grant.

EDWIN B. DORAN, formerly assistant professor of geography, University of Texas, has accepted a position on the staff of the Department of Geography, Louisiana State University.

CHARLES MCINTOSH has been appointed instructor in geography, University of Texas. He holds a Ph.D. degree from the University of Nebraska.

TOM MCKNIGHT has been appointed instructor in geography, University of Texas. Dr. McKnight holds a Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin.

DAN STANISLAWSKI, professor of geography, University of Texas, has returned after a year's leave of absence devoted to study and writing in California and Portugal.

Government

OKLAHOMA MILITARY ACADEMY is the recipient of a collection of books on President Eisenhower and on military tactics and government. The gift was made by M. F. BARNO, of Macon, Georgia, a 1922 graduate of the Academy.

History

CHARLES A. BACARISSE, who recently received a Ph.D. degree from the University of Texas, has been appointed assistant professor of history, University of Houston.

WALTER J. BRUNHUMER, formerly of Northwestern University, has been appointed assistant professor of history, Municipal University of Wichita, Kansas.

RAYMOND A. ESTHUS, recently of Brevard College, North Carolina, and a doctoral candidate at Duke University, has been appointed instructor in history, University of Houston.

MAY GUYER, formerly instructor in history, Oklahoma A. and M. College, has accepted a position at Emmetsburg Junior College, Iowa.

JACK A. HADDICK, graduate of the University of Texas, has been appointed assistant professor of history, University of Houston.

BURL L. NOGGLE has been appointed instructor in history, New Mexico A. and M. College. He has just completed a Ph.D. degree at Duke University.

JOHN PAYNE, JR., formerly of Arkansas State Teachers College, has accepted a position as associate professor of history, Sam Houston State Teachers College. Dr. Payne won the 1955 Stebbins prize in Arkansas history.

THOMAS H. REYNOLDS, formerly professor and head emeritus, Department of History, Oklahoma A. and M. College, has become professor of history, McKendree College, Illinois.

CORINNE C. WESTON has been promoted to associate professor of history, University of Houston.

Sociology

JOHN C. BELCHER, formerly associate professor of rural sociology, Oklahoma A. and M. College, has resigned to accept a similar position at the University of Georgia.

EVERETT D. DYER has returned to the Sociology Department, University of Houston, as assistant professor, after a leave of absence at the University of Wisconsin, where he recently received a Ph.D. degree.

ERNEST MANNHEIM, Department of Sociology, University of Kansas City, is spending the fall semester at the University of Graz, Austria, on a Fulbright fellowship. He is the editor of *Essays on the Sociology of Culture*, by Karl Mannheim, to be published in 1955 by Oxford University Press.

CLYDE B. VEDDER, formerly of the University of Florida, has joined the staff of the newly reorganized Sociology Department, University of Houston, as associate professor and chairman. Until the reorganization, the Sociology Department was affiliated with the Social Science Division.

Recent RONALD Books

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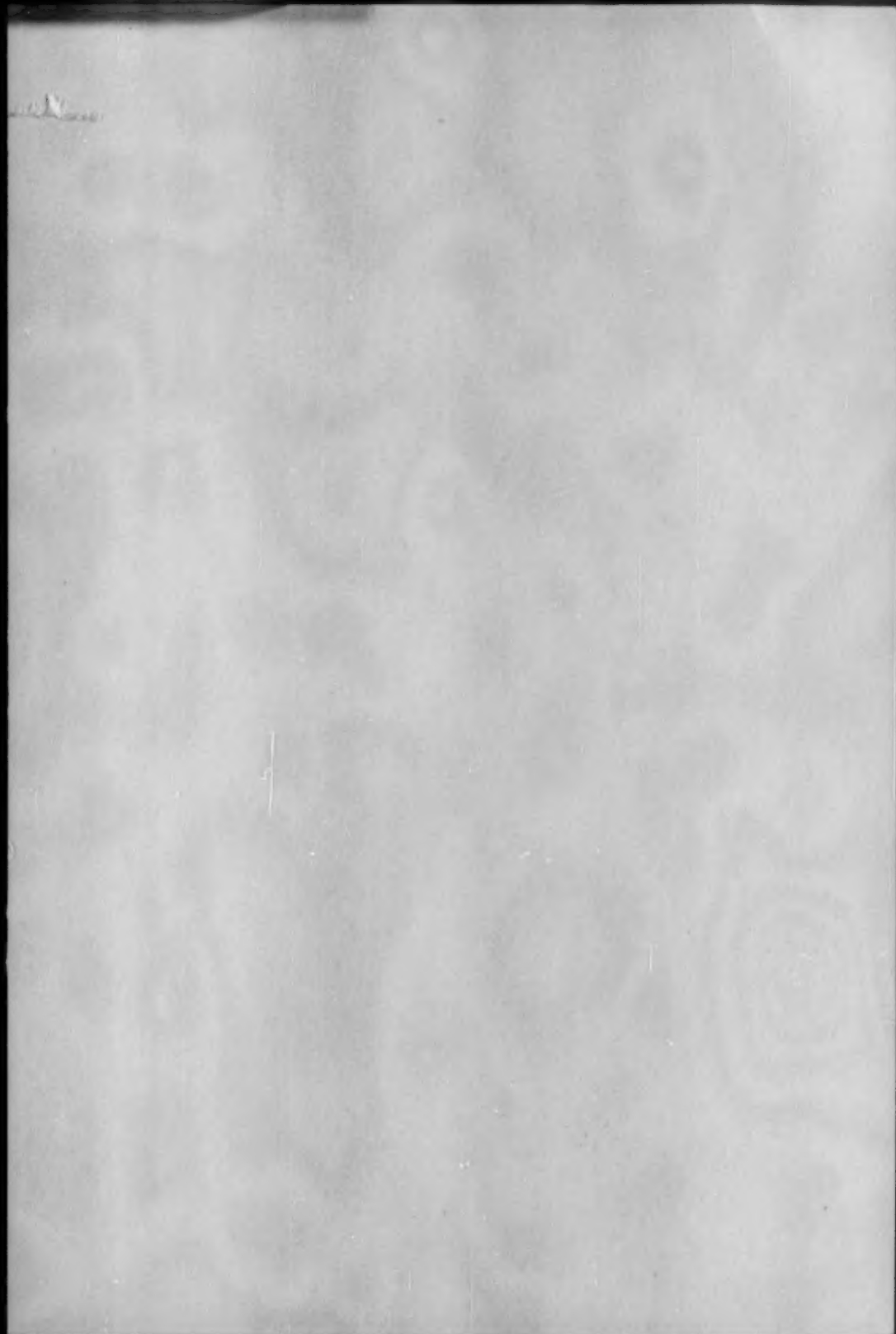
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